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ABHANDLUNGEN  
RHEINISCH-WESTFÄLISCHEN AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN

Sonderreihe

PAPYROLOGICA COLONIENSIA

Herausgegeben von der  
Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften  
in Verbindung mit der Universität zu Köln

Vol. VI

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and Roman Egypt

Part 1

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J. David Thomas

# The epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt

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## The Ptolemaic epistrategos



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## Preface

It is over sixty years since the office of epistrategos in Roman Egypt was subjected to a detailed examination and in the intervening years a great deal of new papyrological and epigraphic material has come to light. It was my original intention to write a study of the office in this period with, by way of introduction, a brief sketch of the epistrategos in Ptolemaic Egypt. It soon became apparent, however, that a much more fundamental study of the Ptolemaic epistrategos was desirable, which would attempt to answer, or at least to clarify, the various problems connected with the office in this period. In this book I have tried to present a comprehensive up-to-date picture of our knowledge of the Ptolemaic epistrategos. I am far from claiming to have successfully answered all the questions raised – in particular the fundamental problem of the nature of the office remains an enigma – but I hope that I have at any rate provided a basis on which others can build.

As the Ptolemaic and Roman epistrategoi did not have a great deal in common apart from their titles, an examination of the office falls naturally into two parts. It therefore seemed not inappropriate to publish separately the first half of this work dealing with the Ptolemaic epistrategos, without waiting for the completion of the second part which will deal with the Roman epistrategos. It is hoped that this second part will follow without undue delay.

My work on the epistrategos was begun in the summer of 1971 when I was able to spend some time at the Institut für Altertumskunde of the University of Cologne. It is a pleasure to thank the University of Cologne, and in particular the members of the Institut, for the excellent facilities provided to assist me in my work and for the opportunity to discuss it with interested colleagues. I should also like to thank the Director and Members of the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, for electing me to a Visiting Membership in 1972, which enabled me to continue my researches. I am grateful to my own University of Durham for making both these visits possible.

Several scholars have helped me in my work, especially Mr. T. C. Skeat and Prof. J. E. Gilliam, both of whom read through an earlier version of

this book and offered helpful criticisms. My greatest debt is to Prof. Dr. L. Koenen for reading the manuscript of this book and for helping me with its publication. He has provided me with many useful suggestions and saved me from numerous errors; I alone am responsible for those which remain.

Finally, I wish to express my thanks to the Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften for agreeing to accept this book for publication in the series *Papyrologica Coloniensia*.

Durham  
June 1974

*J. David Thomas*



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## Chapter 1

### The nature of the office: miscellaneous problems

#### 1. *Introduction*

The definitive account of the Ptolemaic administration remains to be written; indeed, there is no modern treatment of this important subject<sup>1</sup>. However, the general outlines of the system, which has been described as 'one of the most rigidly centralised bureaucracies that the world has ever seen', are reasonably clear<sup>2</sup>. At the head of the state stood the king, supreme over all branches of government. He was served by a host of officials, men who were permanent paid servants of the state and who made government service their career. There are two ways of presenting an ordered classification of the complicated picture revealed by our sources: firstly according to the departments of the administration in which the officials functioned. For most purposes state officials may be split up into three main groups, military, civil and religious, the last of which is not relevant for the present enquiry<sup>3</sup>. Within the civil service it is possible to distinguish several departments, notably fiscal and financial, judicial, police, and general administrative<sup>4</sup>. At all levels we find officials whose control is limited to one of these departments, but as well there are a few whose competence extends over several, perhaps all, of these different fields<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The only comprehensive, detailed survey known to me is that by A. Bouché-Leclercq, *Histoire des Lagides* III (1906) and IV (1907), now very much out of date. Outline accounts are to be found in Wilcken, *Grundzüge* 8–12, E. Bevan, *A history of Egypt under the Ptolemaic dynasty* (1927), chap. 5, W. Schubart, *Verfassung und Verwaltung des Ptolemäerreiches* (*Der Alte Orient* 35.4; 1937), and P. Jouguet, *Macedonian Imperialism* (Eng. trans. 1928) 286–321, esp. 299–304. For the administration outside Egypt see D. Cohen, *De magistratibus Aegyptiis externas Lagidarum regni provincias administrantibus* (1912).

<sup>2</sup> The quotation is from A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup> (1971) 297.

<sup>3</sup> On the military administration see J. Lesquier, *Les institutions militaires de l'Égypte sous les Lagides* (1911), and on the financial section of the civil service, C. Préaux, *L'économie royale des Lagides* (1939). The officials whose names are known are to be found listed in PP I (civil) and II (military and police).

<sup>4</sup> Préaux, *op. cit.* 448, would subdivide this last class further into scribes and 'les administrateurs de circonscription' (for example, the *komogrammateus* would fall into the former and the *komarch* into the latter category).

<sup>5</sup> Above all the *nome strategos*, on whom see Bengtson, *Chap. IV*.

An alternative way of analysing the administration is to regard it as composed of various stratifications, the different levels being marked by the geographical area which was the extent of any one official's competence. Thus if we confine ourselves to the internal administration of Egypt and leave out of account the empire outside, at the top we have a handful of officials who had authority throughout the whole of Egypt, notably the dioiketes, hypomnematographos and epistolographos. Next to them come a few with a competence extending over several nomes<sup>6</sup>, and below them a much larger number whose sphere of control was a single nome. It is clear that the Ptolemies, no doubt following Pharaonic precedents, found the nome the most convenient unit at which local government could operate in virtually every department of the civil service<sup>7</sup>. Nevertheless for certain purposes the government found it necessary to create officials with competence in a section of a nome only (e. g. the topogrammateus), and at the lowest level we find officials in every department whose competence did not extend beyond a single village or group of villages.

It is against this background that the office of epistrategos in the Ptolemaic period must be examined. In theory by balancing the number of departments in which an official functioned against the area for which he was competent it should be possible to determine with some degree of accuracy the point in the administrative hierarchy at which he stood<sup>8</sup>. To examine this question in the case of the epistrategos is part of the task of this book, but in attempting to answer it we come up forcibly against a formidable difficulty, namely the mystery which surrounds the nature of the office of epistrategos in Ptolemaic Egypt and the power he exercised. A number of questions concerning the *Roman* epistrategos are obscure, as we shall find in the second part of this work, but we know that, at any rate by the end of the first century A. D., he was a Roman eques, subordinate to the prefect of Egypt, with extensive but purely civil powers over a specific subdivision of Egypt – in short, we can form a fairly clear picture of the fundamental

<sup>6</sup> These are not numerous but certainly include the *χρηματισται*, whose judicial competence in UPZ 170 extended from the Panopolite to the southern border of Egypt (cf. also OGIS 106), and very probably the *ὑποδιοικητής*, see Bouché-Leclercq III 387, and Van 't Dack 1949, 9–13.

<sup>7</sup> Apart from the strategos, who from the second half of the third century was supreme in most if not all the administrative departments of the nome, the *βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς* and *ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων* were competent for a whole nome, as were many of the *epimeletai*, *oikonomoi* and *nomarchs* whom we meet in the papyri, as well as several other less well attested officials. For the special problems of the Thebaid see Van 't Dack 1949.

<sup>8</sup> On this hierarchy there is much useful information in P. Handrock, *Dienstliche Weisungen in den Papyri der Ptolemäerzeit* (1967).

nature of the office. In the case of the Ptolemaic epistrategos it is precisely this point which is in doubt. This is brought out most clearly by the fact that the two most recent studies of the office have arrived at diametrically opposed conclusions on this central point<sup>9</sup>; a conflict of views which is expressed succinctly by Ehrenberg as follows: 'according to one view [the epistrategos] was the supreme official for the whole country (χώρα)...; according to another view it [sic] was little more than an honorary title'<sup>10</sup>.

Before we can attempt to deal with this central problem we must look at several subsidiary problems concerning the Ptolemaic epistrategos, all of which have at various times caused controversy among scholars and which may be formulated as follows:

- (1) Was there a single epistrategos in Ptolemaic Egypt or could two or more exist simultaneously?
- (2) Was the post filled regularly or was the epistrategos an extraordinary official, only appointed at times of crisis?
- (3) Did the epistrategos possess both military and civil authority?
- (4) Was the post confined to the Thebaid or did its holder have power throughout the chora?
- (5) What was the relationship between the epistrategos and the strategos of the Thebaid? Were the posts one and the same?

In the course of this chapter we shall examine each of these questions in turn. The second chapter will be devoted to an examination of the duties of the epistrategos. Basing ourselves on the conclusions drawn from the examinations conducted in the first two chapters we can then attempt in the third chapter to clarify as far as possible the central problem surrounding the office of Ptolemaic epistrategos and to see how far it admits of a solution with the evidence at present available.

## 2. *Previous views*

It will be convenient to preface an examination of these questions with a brief sketch of the most important views which have been expressed on them. Theories about the nature of the Ptolemaic epistrategos were first advanced some one hundred and fifty years ago, on the basis of a few

<sup>9</sup> I mean the studies by Bengtson and Van 't Dack discussed below.

<sup>10</sup> V. Ehrenberg, *The Greek State*<sup>2</sup> (Eng. trans. 1969) 184. As we shall see, this is not a wholly fair representation of Van 't Dack's view, but it has the merit of putting its finger on the major problem connected with the office.

inscriptions and some of the earliest Greek papyri to be published<sup>11</sup>; but these early views have largely been rendered obsolete by new material and need not detain us further<sup>12</sup>. In any case, in so far as they are of value, they are incorporated in Martin's work, published in 1911<sup>13</sup>.

This careful and thorough study, at every point adhering closely to the evidence of the papyri and inscriptions, was the first comprehensive examination of the office and superseded all earlier works. It put the subject on a fresh basis and forms the 'grundlegende' work on which all subsequent studies are based. Martin's answers to the questions formulated above may be outlined as follows. There was only one epistrategos in Ptolemaic Egypt, at first appointed ad hoc but later on a regular basis, and his authority was confined to the Thebaid. He was the supreme military and civil official in this area which had its own special administration 'qui l'assimilait à une possession coloniale'<sup>14</sup>. The epistrategos could be referred to as ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος, στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος or ἐπιστράτηγος alone, and whichever title was employed the reference was to the same post<sup>15</sup>.

Martin's case was carefully and persuasively argued, and provided a neat and logical solution. It is no surprise that after its endorsement by Wilcken<sup>16</sup>, it held the field unchallenged for some twenty-five years. Indeed, it is not without its influence today, even though, as we shall see, one or two of his answers will no longer meet the facts.

With the publication in 1933 of P. Tebt. 778, which showed an epistrategos functioning with authority in the Fayum, the first serious doubts were cast on the correctness of the picture which Martin had painted. The editors held the text to show not only that the Ptolemaic epistrategos had authority outside the Thebaid<sup>17</sup>, but that Ptolemaic Egypt knew more than one

<sup>11</sup> By M. Letronne, *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Égypte* (1823), 273ff., and A. Peyron, *P. Tor.*, pp. 64ff. (*Mem. R. Accad. Torino* xxxi (1826–7)).

<sup>12</sup> I would refer only to Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka I* (1899), 427f., for his characteristic caution and good sense: he knew of an epistrategos only from the second century B. C. and only for the Thebaid, but added 'das kann freilich Zufall sein', pointing out however the possibility of a special organisation for the Thebaid.

<sup>13</sup> For early discussions see Martin's bibliography on p. xv. To be added to these early works are Wilcken, *op. cit.*, P. M. Meyer, *Das Heerwesen im ptolemäischen und römischen Ägypten* (1900) 65, and Bouché-Leclercq III 140f.

<sup>14</sup> Pp. 13–22; the quotation is from p. 21.

<sup>15</sup> Pp. 23–40.

<sup>16</sup> *Grundzüge* 10.

<sup>17</sup> The only way to keep to Martin's view would be to suppose that the Fayum could form part of the Thebaid. Though not in itself absurd, this idea has never to my knowledge been advanced (Henne, *REA* xxxvii (1935) 24 n. 5, did at any rate notice the possibility, remarking that 'c'est au moins indémontrable') and can, I think, be proved to be untenable: see Appendix 2.

epistrategos acting in different sections of the country<sup>18</sup>. However, in an important article based on this same text Skeat put forward a radically different interpretation<sup>19</sup>. After establishing, from a re-examination of the original, that the epistrategos referred to in this text was Hippalos, he pointed out that (1) neither in the Tebtunis papyrus nor in the inscription from Ptolemais which refers to Hippalos as epistrategos is he called epistrategos of the Thebaid but ἐπιστράτηγος tout court; and (2) in UPZ 110.164f. we find a reference to a certain Hippalos, who was clearly an important administrator, described as ὁ τότε προκαθήμενος τῆς χώρας. He suggested not only the identification of the Hippalos in the Tebtunis papyrus with the Hippalos of UPZ 110, but that the words ὁ προκαθήμενος τῆς χώρας were a reference to him in his capacity as epistrategos. From this he drew the conclusion that at any rate one epistrategos had authority not merely in the Thebaid but throughout the whole chora.

Skeat's views, to which we shall have occasion to return below<sup>20</sup>, have been generally accepted, in particular in the two more recent studies of the nature of the Ptolemaic epistrategos, those by Bengtson and Van 't Dack<sup>21</sup>. Bengtson follows Martin in believing that there was only one epistrategos in Ptolemaic Egypt, and that the post was at first a special temporary appointment, later filled regularly. He also regards him as a man with overriding military and civil authority. Where he differs from Martin is in regarding the epistrategos as having power not only in the Thebaid but in the chora as a whole, and in holding that the posts of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid, though in practice often combined in the hands of one man, were in essence quite distinct<sup>22</sup>. Above all he believes that the epistrategos was a man with real, indeed very wide powers, 'der bei weitem mächtigste Funktionär der ptolemäischen Administration der Chora'<sup>23</sup>. Van 't Dack in contrast, who concerns himself only with the last and most important of these questions – the real power of the epistrategos, believes that there were two sorts of epistrategos in Ptolemaic Egypt, type A represented by Hippalos and two or three others, who had authority throughout the chora<sup>24</sup>,

<sup>18</sup> See also Henne, loc. cit. 21–7.

<sup>19</sup> Archiv Pap. xii (1936) 40–3 (cf. already the comment by Dittenberger ad OGIS 103.2). P. Tebt. 778 was subsequently republished as 895, with a new date, improved readings by Skeat and additional fragments.

<sup>20</sup> Pp. 26–8.

<sup>21</sup> Bengtson 121–7; Van 't Dack 1952. Also accepted in SEHWW II 717, Otto-Bengtson 8, cf. Wilcken ad UPZ 191.1.

<sup>22</sup> So already Otto-Bengtson 8f.

<sup>23</sup> Bengtson 124. Strictly, however, this is with reference to the epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid; but see also pp. 125–7.

<sup>24</sup> (Timar)chos, Apollodoros and Ptolemaios (see references in the list).

and type B by the rest, whose powers were limited to the Thebaid. Further, he holds that the title *ἐπιστράτηγος*, when borne by this second type, conferred on its holder no new powers whatsoever and was a purely honorary addition. For this second type he thus reverts to Martin's view that there was no practical distinction between epistrategoi and strategoi of the Thebaid, whom he conflates in his list<sup>25</sup>. Of this second type he remarks, in reference to the title *ἐπιστράτηγος*, 'il ne s'agit là ni d'une fonction autonome, ni même d'une fonction adjointe; le titre est simplement honorifique et n'augmente en rien les pouvoirs du gouverneur de la Haute-Égypte'<sup>26</sup>.

It is fair then to describe these two points of view on the nature of the office as completely opposed. Neither, it seems to me, is wholly satisfactory. Against Van 't Dack it may be urged that his solution that there were two different sorts of epistrategoi in the Ptolemaic administration is intrinsically unlikely; that the government had at its disposal plenty of court titles, which were certainly not debased in the second century, and these were an ideal way of conferring prestige on a subject without real power; that Hippalos at any rate must have had real power in virtue of his post as epistrategos<sup>27</sup>; and that if we are therefore to suppose one type of epistrategos with real power and a second for whom the title was a mere honour, it becomes very hard to imagine that the Ptolemaic administration could have had at one and the same time such ill-assorted bedfellows<sup>28</sup>;

<sup>25</sup> On pp. 442–5.

<sup>26</sup> See p. 442. The idea that there may have been two sorts of epistrategos in Ptolemaic Egypt was first mooted by Van 't Dack in *Aegyptus* xxix (1949) 14: 'Faut-il adopter la conception de M. M. W. Otto – H. Bengtson selon laquelle deux fonctions essentiellement différentes correspondent à ces deux titres unis? Ou bien faut-il distinguer deux sortes d'épistratèges?'. In *Aegyptus* 1952 he refers on pp. 441–2 to the first type of epistrategos, adding 'ce ne sont là, certes, pas tous les cas connus d'épistratèges durant la période ptolémaïque. À côté des personnages nommés plus haut, le gouverneur de la Thébaïde porte assez souvent ce même titre d'ἐπιστράτηγος.' In *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 15 n. 1 he and Peremans imply a belief that an epistrategos of the chora and an epistrategos of the Thebaid may have co-existed at one and the same time. It is important to insist on these references to two types of epistrategos since Van 't Dack's views have often not been accurately represented, cf. Ehrenberg cited on p. 11 and Handrock in n. 39 below.

<sup>27</sup> See below, p. 81.

<sup>28</sup> Van 't Dack (p. 448) suggests a parallel for holding an official title which was a mere sham conferring no power in that of *ναύαρχος* borne by the strategos of Cyprus from about 142. But Mitford has shown good reason to suppose that the use of this title did mean an increase in power for the island strategos, see *Opusc. Athen.* i (1953) 147–8, *Stud. Calderini-Paribeni* ii (1957) 166–7, and most recently *Inscr. Kourion* (1971), p. 99; see already Lesquier, *op. cit.* (n. 3) 73f., and cf. Bengtson 143–4. There is in fact, to my knowledge, no Ptolemaic example of a man having the title of a government post without at the same time having to perform the relevant duties. Van 't Dack does not attempt to explain his two types of epistrategos as historical



finally, there is strong reason to suppose that the post of strategos of the Thebaid should not be identified with that of epistrategos<sup>29</sup>. Against Bengtson, on the other hand, one may urge first that a close connection between most epistrategoi and the Thebaid cannot be denied, which is hardly what one would expect if his power extended over the whole chora<sup>30</sup>, and in particular that we twice meet the title of the office in the form στρατηγός καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος<sup>31</sup>; and secondly, that it is very hard to show in what respects the powers of the epistrategos can have differed from those of the strategos of the Thebaid. It is, however, much easier to point out objections to these two solutions than it is to suggest a convincing alternative, as we shall find<sup>32</sup>.

In the last twenty years there has been no advance in the study of the office. Several scholars have found occasion to comment on it, but these comments have often been written as though Martin's views still stood unchallenged and the studies by Bengtson and Van 't Dack had not been written. Thus, despite Bengtson's claim that the offices of strategos of the Thebaid and epistrategos were fundamentally different, and Van 't Dack's suggestion that more than one sort of epistrategos makes his appearance in Ptolemaic Egypt, both he and Peremans in their prosopography published in 1950<sup>33</sup> and Miss Vandoni in her list of epistrategoi which appeared as recently as 1970<sup>34</sup> group together all holders of the posts of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid under a single rubric. Indeed, Martin's views are still very much with us<sup>35</sup>, in particular his view, which we have seen to be no longer tenable, that all epistrategoi were competent in the Thebaid only, as evidenced by Miss Vandoni's title 'Epistrategi della Tebaide', by a similar title used by Bingen in a recent article<sup>36</sup>, by the general description

development and indeed such an explanation is not possible: epistrategoi of his type B are known from 134 (Boethos), whereas epistrategoi of type A still persist until at least 95/4 (Ptolemaios).

<sup>29</sup> See below, pp. 53–4.

<sup>30</sup> Bengtson recognises this and is driven to speak of the Thebaid as the 'Hausmacht' of the epistrategos (p. 121).

<sup>31</sup> This is discussed below, pp. 79–80.

<sup>32</sup> See Chapter 3.

<sup>33</sup> PP I 186–202.

<sup>34</sup> M. Vandoni, *Gli Epistrategi nell' Egitto greco-romano*, 5–12.

<sup>35</sup> For example A. Bernand's note to *Inscr. Phil.* I 20.2–4, cf. 52.2–3, is little more than a repetition of what Martin believed.

<sup>36</sup> 'Les épistratèges de Thébaïde sous les derniers Ptolémées', *CE* xlv (1970) 369–78; three of the epistrategoi he discusses, Hephaistion, Dionysios and Kronios, have nothing in their titlature as it survives to connect them with the Thebaid (see the list, pp. 121–2).

of the office given by Hutmacher<sup>37</sup>, and by Fraser's reference to holders of the office as ἐπιστράτηγοι τῆς Θηβαίδος<sup>38</sup>. Apart from Ehrenberg, cited at the beginning of this chapter (p. 11), only Handrock shows any appreciation of the problem of the office, and he does not attempt a solution<sup>39</sup>. In short the problem has not only not been solved (which may very well be impossible in the present state of our knowledge), it has been largely ignored; and the powers which the epistrategos wielded in his military and civil capacities have not been the subject of detailed treatment since Martin wrote. These facts justify a re-examination of the office as a whole.

### 3. *The number of epistrategoi*

We may now begin to examine in turn each of the five questions propounded at the beginning of the chapter. Firstly, was there at all times in the Ptolemaic period only a single epistrategos (in contrast to the Roman period)? Martin argued at length that there was and his view has in the main prevailed<sup>40</sup>. In the first publication of the Tebtunis papyrus alluded to above the editors held it to prove that there already existed in the second century B. C. a plurality of epistrategoi, each responsible, on the pattern later followed in the Roman period, for a section of the country<sup>41</sup>. But in the subsequent republication they accepted the view put forward by Skeat to which we have already alluded<sup>42</sup>. Skeat's theory is incompatible with Martin's view that the epistrategos was limited to the Thebaid<sup>43</sup>, but it is quite consistent with Martin's contention that there was only one epistrategos in Ptolemaic Egypt.

If one accepts Van 't Dack's suggestion that there were two types of epistrategos in Ptolemaic Egypt and that these two types could co-exist, this again would prove that there was a plurality of epistrategoi before the

<sup>37</sup> R. Hutmacher, *Das Ehrendekret für den Strategen Kallimachos* (Beitr. zur klass. Phil. 17; 1965), 1-2 and 61-2; in particular he calls them 'Vizekönige von *Ober-ägypten*' (my italics).

<sup>38</sup> P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972) II 168 n. 335.

<sup>39</sup> Dienstl. Weisungen, 81-5: he does not consider whether the title could be purely honorific and erroneously quotes Van 't Dack for the view that *all* epistrategoi were at the same time strategoi of the Thebaid.

<sup>40</sup> Martin 13-22; for this view cf. already Wilcken, cited in n. 12 and *Archiv Pap.* 3 (1906) 323, and Bouché-Leclercq, III 125 n. 1, 140f.

<sup>41</sup> P. Tebt. 778. So Henne, *REA* xxxvii (1935) 21-7.

<sup>42</sup> Pp. 12-13.

<sup>43</sup> See below, pp. 26ff.

Roman period<sup>44</sup>. But this is only a hypothesis and, as I have already indicated, I believe that it raises more problems than it solves.

Another text which might appear damaging to the view that there was only one epistrategos is an official decree of 50/49, which contrasts οἱ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν νομοί with ἡ κάτω χώρα and ἡ Θηβαίς<sup>45</sup>. This has led to the suggestion that the tripartite division of Egypt, as it is known for the Roman period, was already in existence under the Ptolemies<sup>46</sup>. Two arguments which might seem to support this are (1) a passage in Strabo in which he speaks of epistrategoi in the plural<sup>47</sup>; and (2) the fact that the Roman administration may have had right from the start epistrategoi in charge of different sections of Egypt<sup>48</sup>; it is easier to explain their retention of the Greek term ἐπιστράτηγος as the official designation if they were merely continuing an existing office – i. e. if they found officials in charge of particular sections of the country already existing, each with the title ἐπιστράτηγος<sup>49</sup>.

It would be possible to argue therefore that at any rate by the end of the Ptolemaic period there were three epistrategoi in existence for the Thebaid, Middle Egypt and the Delta. But none of these arguments is compelling. The argument from Roman practice is obviously not strong and it is in any case questionable whether the Romans had more than one epistrategos at first; we only know for certain of an epistrategos of the Thebaid<sup>50</sup>. At best then this need argue no more than that the Ptolemaic epistrategos by the time the Romans took over the country was limited to the Thebaid<sup>51</sup>. Strabo's remarks apply to the reign of Augustus and could well be referring to a changed situation which had by then come into operation<sup>52</sup>. Finally,

<sup>44</sup> This is clearly implied in Stud. Hell. ix (1953) 15 n. 1.

<sup>45</sup> BGU 1730. On the date and circumstances cf. Skeat, JEA xlviii (1962) 104f., Fraser, Ptol. Alex. II 230 n. 298, and H. Heinen, Rom und Ägypten von 51 bis 47 v. Chr. (Diss. Tübingen, 1966), 27–32.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. A. H. M. Jones in the first edition of Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces (1937), 474 n. 22.

<sup>47</sup> Strabo XVII i 13 (p. 798) κατὰ δὲ τὴν χώραν ἐπιστρατῆγους τινὰς καὶ νομάρχας καὶ ἐθνάρχας καλουμένους ἀποδείξαντες.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. Martin 83–95.

<sup>49</sup> Note that the earliest epistrategos known from the Roman period, 17/16 B. C., has the Greek name Πτολεμαῖος (SB 8428), which suggests that the change in the epistrategia wrought by the Romans had not yet taken place (cf. Martin 84f.). Julius Caesar left three legions to garrison Egypt (Bevan 366), but I do not believe any argument for a tripartite division can be drawn from this.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. Vandoni, Epistrategi. These points will need further discussion in the second part of this work. In the meantime I may refer to my brief comment in Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology (pub. 1970) 468f.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. p. 86.

<sup>52</sup> Again this will need further consideration in the second part of this work.

the decree of 50/49 need be designating only geographical areas without administrative significance. It certainly is not proof that the tripartite division of Egypt as it is known in the Roman period goes back to Ptolemaic times: οἱ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν νομοί is *not* the equivalent of the Roman Heptanomia, which was not applied solely to the nomes *beyond Memphis*, but included the Memphite and, I believe, the Letopolite<sup>53</sup>.

Against these arguments may be set four texts, all dating from 46 B. C. or later, i. e. very near the end of the Ptolemaic period, referring to an ἐπιστράτηγος without further qualification<sup>54</sup>. The natural implication is that Ptolemaic Egypt knew at this date only one epistrategos. Furthermore the word ἐπιστρατηγία meaning a geographical area under the control of an epistrategos, found on several occasions in the Roman period, never occurs in the Ptolemaic<sup>55</sup>. This is not conclusive and I do not believe that with the evidence at our disposal we can arrive at certainty on this point. But the balance of probability is distinctly in favour of there having been only one epistrategos throughout the Ptolemaic period.

#### 4. *Extraordinary appointment or regular post?*

Martin believed that the appointment of Hippalos in the reign of Epiphanes (the first known epistrategos) may well have been extraordinary in order to deal with a crisis, but that very soon afterwards the post came to be filled regularly as a permanent feature of the administration<sup>56</sup>. He pointed out that no less than seven holders of the post are known for the years 135–115, that one of them at any rate, Lochos, held office for three years which were years of peace (127–4), that there is an example in 115 of the office being transferred at a time when the Thebaid was free from disturbances, and that Kallimachos held the office for more than twenty-five years in the first century, when there was no sign of trouble<sup>57</sup>. Bengtson is substantially in agreement, both in believing that the post was at first extraordinary and in supposing that it became regular later in the second

<sup>53</sup> See Thomas, loc. cit. 465 ff.

<sup>54</sup> The last four entries in the list on p. 122.

<sup>55</sup> We should reject the supplements π[ρὸς τὴν ἐπιστρατηγίαν], suggested as a possibility in the inscription published in MDAIK xxvi (1970) 171 f. (Euergetes II), and τῆς κατὰ [σὲ ἐπιστρατηγίας], suggested by the editors in P. Yale 56.8 n. (100).

<sup>56</sup> Martin 10–11, where he remarks that the office was certainly regularly filled 'à partir du règne de Ptolémée VI Philométor'.

<sup>57</sup> The evidence is to be found in the list on pp. 121–2 and, for Lochos, on pp. 115–16.

century, during the reign of Euergetes II<sup>58</sup>. Not all of Martin's arguments are still valid. In particular Lochos must be excluded from consideration since we have no proof that he was ever epistrategos, and the period in which Kallimachos was in office was shorter than he supposed<sup>59</sup>; more important, it is dangerous to argue that Egypt was at peace at certain periods: usually this is no better than an argument from silence which further evidence might one day disprove.

This last is a serious point and needs a more detailed examination<sup>60</sup>. How far in fact does the presence of an epistrategos coincide with times of internal unrest in Egypt?

The early years of the Ptolemaic dynasty need not concern us and seem in any case to have been years of peace within the country<sup>61</sup>. We may begin our brief survey with the disturbances which followed the battle of Raphia in 217, when native Egyptians first started to give trouble. This began in the Delta and persisted there off and on for some years, at least down to the mid 180 s<sup>62</sup>. At approximately the same time, in 207/6 to be precise, there broke out a serious rebellion in the Thebaid which lasted for twenty years<sup>63</sup>. It must have been recovered by 185, when Epiphanes and his

<sup>58</sup> Bengtson 122–3; n. b. his remark that 'die wiederholte Verbindung der Epistrategie mit der Strategie der Thebais in den Persönlichkeiten des Demetrios, Hermokrates und Phommus (etwa 118–111 v. Chr.) scheint anzudeuten, daß die Epistrategie, bisher eine außerordentliche Funktion, ein reguläres Amt in der Chora zu werden beginnt'. He differs from Martin in supposing that the office became regular at a slightly later date.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. pp. 106–7; and for Lochos Chap. 4 n. 80 with pp. 115–16.

<sup>60</sup> Martin also treats this subject in detail, but in connection with the military competence of the epistrategos (pp. 41–57, cf. 4 and 8–10). The survey below differs from his in that it seeks to relate to the whole of the χώρα not simply the Thebaid.

<sup>61</sup> On internal strife see, apart from Martin, Préaux, CE xi (1936) 522–52, and SEHHW, index, s. v. 'natives, revolts of'. A detailed up-to-date study giving a comprehensive picture is badly needed, though a good deal of the relevant material may be found in Volkmann's articles s. v. Ptolemaios in RE XXIII (1959) 1678ff.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. Bevan 254 and 260ff.

<sup>63</sup> See especially Alliot, Rev. belge de phil. et d'hist. xxix (1951) 421–43 and REA liv (1952) 18–26, L. Koenen, Arch. Pap. xvii (1960) 11–16, Pestman, CE xl (1965) 157–70. Cf. Volkmann, RE XXIII (1959) 1699f. The principal pieces of evidence are the hieroglyphic building inscriptions from Edfu (Dümichen, ZÄS viii (1870) 1–13), which show that operations there were suspended during this period, and demotic texts which record two native pharaohs, Harmachis and Anchmachis, of whom the former attained at least a sixth and the latter a fourteenth year. This revolt is referred to as a *ταραχή* in SB 8033.8 (for the date see below, p. 34) and UPZ 162 V 29. The references in P. Amh. 30.11, P. IFAO II 3.7 and SB 9681.9 (Uebel, Archiv Pap. xvii (1962) 147ff., q. v.) to a *ταραχή* may also be to these troubles, but may be to those in the 160s. There can be no doubt about the seriousness of this revolt, even though, as Pestman has shown, Epiphanes may have retained some control in parts of the Thebaid within this twenty years.

queen made a voyage to Philai, and the troubles in the rest of Egypt seem to have been settled now<sup>64</sup>. There may even have been an offensive to the South<sup>65</sup>. In fact the government successes of the mid 180 s seem to have brought about some fifteen years of internal peace<sup>66</sup>.

In the early 160 s serious, not to say catastrophic, troubles affected Egypt. The fortunes of the dynasty were at a very low ebb at the time of the invasions by Antiochos, and Lower and Middle Egypt suffered considerably; whether the repercussions reached the Thebaid is not clear<sup>67</sup>. Not long after the realm had recovered from this there broke out the revolt of Dionysios-Petosarapis, again affecting principally the more northern parts of the country, at any rate initially, but followed, though whether consequentially is uncertain, by outbreaks of unrest in the Thebaid<sup>68</sup>. Normality seems to have been restored in 163, with the issuing of another amnesty, and this time internal peace may well have persisted for about thirty years, broken only by the revolt of Galaistes in the late 140 s, which may not

<sup>64</sup> Bevan 274f.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Bevan, loc. cit., but see Alliot, Rev. belge cit. 441f. For the possibility that Inscr. Phil. 12 bis refers to this period see below, n. 71.

<sup>66</sup> So in particular Alliot, Rev. belge cit. 443, with reference to the whole of Egypt, 'un peu plus de quinze ans d'un calme relatif', but cf. SEHHW II 714ff. For an amnesty in 186, which could well be preserved in P. Kroll = SB 9316, cf. Will, *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique II* (1967), 303, Braunert, *Gnomon xxxii* (1960) 531-3, and Lenger, C. Ord. Ptol. 34.

<sup>67</sup> Skeat, *Archiv Pap.* xii (1936) 42, suggests that the Thebaid remained loyal to the central government, cf. Martin 42. On these invasions see above all W. Otto, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers* (1934), 40ff., Uebel, *Arch. cit.* in n. 63, Will, op. cit. 262ff., and on the chronology Skeat, *JEA* xlvii (1961) 107-12. P. Grenf. I 42 may be connected; see below, n. 242.

<sup>68</sup> For a good study of the troubles in this period see Jouguet, *Mel. O. Navarre* (1935) 265-73 (who is concerned in particular with the Nubian 'king' Hurgonaphur, attested in SB 7658). Diodorus mentions the rebellion in xxxi 15a and the disturbances in the Thebaid *ibid.* 17b, placing both at the same time but not connecting them. Grenfell and Hunt, ad P. Tebt. 5.153, wished to put the second of these references some forty to fifty years later because of the mention of Panopolis, and to connect it with the exclusion of Panopolis from the amnesty of 118; they are followed in this by Martin (p. 49 n. 2). There is no need for this: Panopolis could well have been a centre of disaffection on more than one occasion, cf. Otto-Bengtson 109 n. 4, Bevan 290, 317. Otto, op. cit. 91f., connects the disturbances with the rebellion of Petosarapis, cf. SEHHW II 719ff. and Skeat-Turner, *JEA* liv (1968) 206f. Some of the papyrological evidence cited in n. 63 may belong here, as certainly does the gloomy picture painted in UPZ 110 (καταφθορά is used in l. 126), the παραχή mentioned in UPZ 14.9, by Smyly apud Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (1907), 30, and the reference to ἀμελκτοὶς καιροῖς in UPZ 19.8-9. Note the evidence for military operations in the Thebaid in SB 9367 of 163, and the building of a fort in the Herakleopolite attested in P. Berl. Zill. 1 of 156/5. Indications of trouble in the Fayum at this time are given by P. Tebt. 781, cf. 888.11 and 1043.45 and 54.

have affected the  $\chi\acute{\omega}\rho\alpha$ <sup>69</sup>. Possibly of significance is an inscription from Philai(?), to be dated in the last years of Philometor, in which Boethos appears in a military capacity and is honoured as the founder of two towns in the Triakontaschoinoi<sup>70</sup>; this indication of aggression south of the normal Egyptian border would seem to imply settled conditions within the Thebaid at the time<sup>71</sup>.

With the middle of the 130 s begins a period of some twenty-five years during which our information on epistrategoi is at its richest. At the start of this period there was almost certainly a native revolt<sup>72</sup>; certainly we find Boethos again, now epistrategos, in charge of military forces in 134, though whether to settle internal unrest or for a campaign beyond the frontier we do not know<sup>73</sup>.

In the year 132/1 began one of the most serious outbreaks of dynastic strife in the Ptolemaic period. The whole country was torn in two by the struggle between Euergetes II and Kleopatra III on the one side and

<sup>69</sup> See Otto-Bengtson 36–9. The amnesty is mentioned in UPZ 111 and may be exemplified in P. Kroll, but see n. 66 above. The violent quarrel in 149/8 between Hermonthis and Pathyris alluded to in P. Lond. 610 (Skeat, Arch. cit. 41) may have been of purely local significance.

<sup>70</sup> OGIS 111; for the date see chapter 4 n. 46; cf. the inscription published in MDAIK xxvi (1970) 169.

<sup>71</sup> So Martin 42f. We should perhaps connect here Inscr. Phil. 12 bis, which is a petition to the king from priests at Philai asking that he see to the restoration to the temple of aid promised formerly by the Ethiopians. Bernand is certainly right in his statement that the request must have been granted or it would not have been inscribed, and this implies that the government was prepared to contemplate aggressive action south of Egypt at this time. The request belongs in a year 33 which both Bernand and the first editor M. Segrè (BSAA xxxiii (1939) 325–32) regard as 149/8. Note that at the time of the petition assistance from the Ethiopians had ceased, so that if we are to connect the military activity of Boethos attested in OGIS 111, such activity would fall after 149/8 (but I prefer to believe that Boethos in this inscription is not yet strategos of the Thebaid, in which case it must date from before 149, see below, p. 92). The alternative date is 138/7, which could link with later military activities of Boethos referred to in the next paragraph of the text. Both editors suppose the  $\chi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$  in which the Ethiopians first offered aid to belong in the reign of Epiphanes; this would fit with aggression in this area by Egypt after the suppression of the great Thebaid revolt; cf. Bouché-Leclercq, II 6, n. 2.

<sup>72</sup> See Koenen, CE xxxiv (1959) 103–19; this is considered in greater detail below, p. 111. UPZ 225.14, dated 131, which speaks of a  $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$  in the Thebaid, may also relate to this revolt, since the official government term for the dynastic strife in these years was  $\delta\mu\epsilon\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha$  (this seems better than Otto-Bengtson's suggestion (pp. 65–6) that  $\tau\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\acute{\eta}$  was the name deliberately given to the dynastic strife by supporters of Kleopatra II). On the distinction between these terms see Otto-Bengtson 65, with n. 4 and n. 6, Jouguet, Rev. belge de phil. et d'hist. ii (1923) 420 n. 1, Préaux, CE xi (1936) 543, and esp. Collart–Jouguet, Et. Pap. ii (1934) 33.

<sup>73</sup> Martin 44f. thinks the latter, but the revolt just mentioned makes internal trouble much more likely; the references are UPZ 204 and 210.

Kleopatra II on the other<sup>74</sup>. Part of the Thebaid must have fallen into the latter's control, as we have dating by her from Thebes and Hermonthis in the years 132/1–130/29<sup>75</sup>; Euergetes is known to have been planning a campaign to recover the area in January 130 and no doubt was successful there soon after<sup>76</sup>. The struggle persisted beyond this date in the more northerly parts of Egypt; Alexandria was certainly not back in Euergetes' hands in January 127<sup>77</sup>, but its recapture was completed in this year or in 126<sup>78</sup>. Thereafter a very uneasy peace seems to have prevailed until the three rulers, now reconciled, issued a joint amnesty in 118<sup>79</sup>. In these years we learn of a further outbreak of violence between Hermonthis and Krokodilopolis in 123/2<sup>80</sup>, trouble in the Thinite nome in 122/1<sup>81</sup>, possible unrest at Thebes in 119<sup>82</sup>, and defiance of the regime by Panopolis<sup>83</sup>. Even after the amnesty a petitioner speaks of ἀβασιλευσία in the Thebaid<sup>84</sup>, and another of ἀμειξίας καιροί shortly afterwards<sup>85</sup>. These may reflect further outbreaks of dynastic strife at the very end of Euergetes' long reign and immediately

<sup>74</sup> On the chronology see A. E. Samuel, *Ptolemaic Chronology* (Münch. Beitr. 43; 1962) 146–7, who establishes that year 1 of Kleopatra II was the equivalent of year 39 of Euergetes II (i. e. 132/1). The government later reckoned year 40 as the crucial year, cf. P. Tebt. I p. 553, UPZ 196.25–7 and Wilcken, ad loc. On these troubled years see above all Otto–Bengtson 69ff. and 94ff. (though I am not sure whether there is any significance to be seen in the absence of Kleopatra III in a dating formula as early as 136/5 (OGIS 131), cf. their remarks on p. 45). There may even have been a ἡγεμών ἐπὶ στάσεων at this period, cf. UPZ 209.10; Schubart (note ad loc.) rejects this, but cf. the ἡγεμόνες καὶ ἐπὶ στάσεων who occur in SB 1106.

<sup>75</sup> E. g. UPZ 217, 224–5, P. Bad. 2.

<sup>76</sup> UPZ 212. There is a reference to his raising troops in the Fayum in 131 in P. Giss. bibl. 5.

<sup>77</sup> Dating is by 'the priest in the king's camp' in BGU 993, cf. Otto–Bengtson 95.

<sup>78</sup> Otto–Bengtson 95ff. For a possible allusion to Euergetes' campaign against Alexandria in the Oracle of the Potter see L. Koenen, ZPE xiii (1974) 315.

<sup>79</sup> Note that Kleopatra II is still not in the dating formula from the Herakleopolite in 125/4 (PSI 1402). For the amnesty see P. Tebt. 5 and 124, UPZ 162 VII 13ff. Cf. Wilcken ad UPZ 196.25–7, Otto–Bengtson 103, and Koenen, ZPE v (1970) 63.

<sup>80</sup> W. Chr. 11 and Arch. Pap. i (1901) 57–62, cf. Otto–Bengtson 107f.; Martin 49 n. 2 plays down the importance of this.

<sup>81</sup> PSI 168 and 171.33f. ἐν τῷ μὲν L ἐν τῇ γενηθείσει ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀμειξίαι.

<sup>82</sup> UPZ 161.14 τῇ τῶν καιρῶν περιστάσει (cf. 160.17); unless this refers back to c. 130.

<sup>83</sup> Indicated by its harsh treatment in the amnesty of 118 (P. Tebt. 5.134ff. and 151ff.), which I think refers to recent defiance (so Bevan 317; cf. n. 68 above). As Otto–Bengtson 109 point out, Panopolis was excluded from an amnesty given by all three rulers so that it is unlikely that its exclusion was caused by its support of one or the other side in the struggle. Possibly also there were disturbances in the Fayum in 118 (P. Tebt. 707).

<sup>84</sup> UPZ 196.83–4 (116), cf. Otto–Bengtson 130.

<sup>85</sup> P. Lond. 401.20 (p. 12) (115/11); I agree with Otto–Bengtson 161 that this can hardly refer back as far as c. 130.



following his death<sup>86</sup>. The evidence for the decade following is thin and it needed all Otto and Bengtson's skill to extract a picture of these years from what survives<sup>87</sup>. Quite clearly there was at all times more or less open discord between Kleopatra III and Soter II, but it has left scarcely any trace in the history of the *χώρα* and we may therefore ignore it<sup>88</sup>.

At the very end of the second century and early in the first there is evidence for troop movements in the Thebaid<sup>89</sup> and we learn of the presence there of a certain Platon, a strategos with military authority<sup>90</sup>. It is impossible to say whether this reflects internal unrest, either caused by dynastic strife<sup>91</sup> or arising from nationalist aspirations on the part of the Egyptians, or whether its purpose was to conduct operations against external enemies.

We next hear of unrest in the year 88<sup>92</sup>. There were two quite separate causes: (1) the final and this time successful attempt to regain the throne by Soter II, and (2) a nationalist rebellion centred on Thebes. This broke out before Soter's return and must therefore have been aimed at the Ptolemaic dynasty, not at one particular ruler; it was only put down by the government in the third year<sup>93</sup>.

The treatment of Thebes is likely to have been ruthless<sup>94</sup> and may well have succeeded in calming the troublesome region of Upper Egypt until the beginning of the Roman era<sup>95</sup>. Certainly we hear nothing of any unrest

<sup>86</sup> On 28 June 116; cf. Otto-Bengtson 113f., Samuel, *Ptol. Chronology*, 147f.

<sup>87</sup> See pp. 113ff., esp. 180f. and 186f. Their masterly account may have attempted at times to make bricks without straw but seems in the main convincing, despite the criticisms of Musti, *Par. Pass.* xv (1960) 432–46, cf. also Will, *Monde hellénistique*, II 369ff., esp. 372, and Koenen, *ZPE* v 63ff.

<sup>88</sup> Possible trouble in the chora in 106 is alluded to in *P. Amh.* 50.5, cf. Otto-Bengtson 180.

<sup>89</sup> *Arch. Pap.* ii (1903) 515–17 (De Ricci), where the years 104/3 and 99/8 are specifically mentioned. Cf. Bouché-Leclercq, IV 325f., and Martin 55f.

<sup>90</sup> *P. Adler* G 10.4 (101) and *W. O.* 1535 (undated), in the second of which he is in charge of a *παράγγελμα* (see Krüger, *P. Ross. Georg.* II 10, intr.); on Platon see below, pp. 117–18.

<sup>91</sup> For a possible abortive invasion in 102 cf. Otto-Bengtson 186f. Peace only returned within the royal family upon the death of Kleopatra III (by October 101, Samuel, *Ptol. Chronology*, 152) and then it was shattered again in 88.

<sup>92</sup> For possible signs of trouble in the Pathyrite as early as 90 see Préaux, *CE* xi 548.

<sup>93</sup> See Collart, *Rec. Champollion* (1922) 273–82, Bouché-Leclercq, II 112, Will, *Monde hellénistique*, II 436, and Samuel, *CE* xl (1965) 381–5. The papyrological evidence mostly centres around letters from a certain Platon, probably not to be identified with the Platon mentioned above, see pp. 117–18.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Pausanias I 9.3. The devastation of Thebes referred to in SEG XXIV 1217 no doubt relates to this period.

<sup>95</sup> When Gallus needs to crush a rebellion there: his trilingual inscription speaks of his success in the Thebaid *communi omnium regum formidine subacta* (J. G. Milne, *History of Egypt under Roman rule*<sup>3</sup> (1924) 5f., and IGR 1293 = *Inscr. Phil.* II 128.)

here for the remainder of the Ptolemaic period. In the Herakleopolite nome, where around the middle of the first century our sources are very full, there *are* signs of trouble but perhaps not of more than local significance<sup>96</sup>. It is questionable whether the constant struggle between Ptolemy XII Auletes and the Alexandrians ever spread to the chora, and the noteworthy successes abroad of the last Kleopatra down to 34 B. C. are perhaps an indication of settled conditions within Egypt<sup>97</sup>. In general it would seem that the decline and death of the Ptolemaic dynasty did not lead to internal unrest on any notable scale<sup>98</sup>.

How does the epistrategos fit into this picture? In particular does he make his appearance at such times as there was unrest within the country and so suggest a connection between the appointment of an epistrategos and the need to combat such unrest<sup>99</sup>? With the evidence we have at present the answer to this question is clear: there is little or no correlation between the dates at which epistrategoi are known to have existed and the dates at which we find Egypt suffering from rebellion and unrest. Hippalos is only known to have been in office *after* the great revolt in the Thebaid (and trouble elsewhere) had ended; there is no sign of an epistrategos during the troubled 160 s; Boethos is epistrategos in the 130 s at a time before the serious conflict broke out at the end of this decade, and during this struggle we have only one fleeting glimpse of an epistrategos, Paos in 129; there are several epistrategoi known for the late years of Euergetes II, but although they can hardly be called peaceful years, the troubles, so far as we can see, never amount to a serious crisis. There is no proof that there were epistrategoi in the years about 100 or during the major Thebaid revolt of 88<sup>100</sup>; in contrast we know of no less than four epistrategoi during the last thirty to forty years of the Ptolemaic period, a time at which Egypt was to our knowledge free from internal disturbance.

The evidence available to us may of course distort the true picture. But the facts we know do *not* warrant the belief that the epistrategos was always

<sup>96</sup> Esp. BGU 1762, 1764 and 1843; cf. Préaux, *CE* cit. 551f., and Will, *Monde hellénistique*, II 443f.

<sup>97</sup> Bevan 361f., thinks there may have been native rebellions after the death of Auletes, referring to Caesar, *Bell. Civ.* iii 110.6. Skeat, *JEA* xlviii (1962) 104f., suggests that Kleopatra VII, like her father Auletes, was popular in the Thebaid.

<sup>98</sup> If correct (and cf. what Rostovtzeff says in *SEHHW* II 910) this is more likely to be due to control exercised by the high officials, who were by now more or less independent of the government, rather than to action by the royal power.

<sup>99</sup> As Martin 41 implies. Note however that his picture is distorted because (a) he concerns himself with revolts in the Thebaid only, and (b) he includes in his consideration strategoi of the Thebaid who were not known to have been epistrategoi.

<sup>100</sup> But see below, pp. 118–19.

an extraordinary appointment especially set up by the government to deal with internal unrest. To return to the question with which we began this section: was the office of epistrategos filled regularly or was it a special and temporary post? Or did it begin as something extraordinary and become regular in time? The last is *a priori* likely, since it is a general feature of all bureaucracies that an office which is in the first place created *ad hoc*, to meet special circumstances, later tends to become a permanent part of the administration. This seems to be the correct view of the Ptolemaic epistrategos. Hippalos, I have little doubt, was a special appointment and when he ceased to function the office was not immediately filled<sup>101</sup>. How soon after this the office ceased to be extraordinary we do not know, but the new evidence that Paos was epistrategos in 129 enables us to reject Martin's view that it was regular from the reign of Philometor<sup>102</sup>. For we know that Boethos was epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid in September 134, that Paos was strategos of the Thebaid in 130 and epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid in July 129<sup>103</sup>. The natural implication of this is that Paos replaced Boethos at first as strategos of the Thebaid only, and therefore until he became epistrategos as well there was no epistrategos<sup>104</sup>. If so the post was still extraordinary in 130. The number of holders of the office known from the end of Euergetes II's reign might suggest that Bengtson is right in his suggestion that it was filled regularly by this time<sup>105</sup>. The changeover in 115 might also be thought to be significant, but I believe it possible that this is to be connected with the current dynastic dispute<sup>106</sup>. If the epistrategos does not appear at the time of the revolt of 88 this might well be thought significant the other way, but it is possible that there was an epistrategos at this time<sup>107</sup>. My own guess is that by the time Kallimachos came to hold the office in the middle of the first century it had undergone some development, perhaps considerable, from what it had been at its inception<sup>108</sup>. If this is right, one such change could well have been that the office was now a permanent part of the Ptolemaic administration.

<sup>101</sup> UPZ 110 (where I should accept the description of him as *ὁ τότε προκαθήμενος τῆς χώρας* as a reference to his former post as epistrategos, see pp. 26–8) seems to me to imply that there was at the date of this papyrus (164) no epistrategos.

<sup>102</sup> Martin 10f.; he did not know the evidence of UPZ 209 (published 1957).

<sup>103</sup> See the list of epistrategoï and pp. 93–4.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. pp. 93–5.

<sup>105</sup> Bengtson 123f. He is certainly right, as we have just seen, in regarding Boethos as an extraordinary appointment.

<sup>106</sup> See pp. 111–12. I do not share Martin's view (p. 11) that 115 was a time free from internal disturbance.

<sup>107</sup> See pp. 118–19.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. also pp. 85–6.

### 5. *Military and civil authority*

In some early works it was supposed that the epistrategos was a purely military officer. He could thus be distinguished from the strategos of the Thebaid who was purely civil<sup>109</sup>. Martin had no difficulty in showing in contrast that the epistrategos had civil authority as well as military<sup>110</sup>. Indeed, the evidence is much more abundant for the civil than for the military duties of the epistrategos, which throws some doubt on Martin's contention that the office of epistrategos was primarily military<sup>111</sup>. This point, however, may more properly be considered in the following chapter, when we shall analyse in detail the various fields in which the epistrategos was competent.

### 6. *The extent of the authority of the epistrategos*

We have already seen that Martin's view that the Ptolemaic epistrategos was always limited in his authority to the Thebaid will not meet the new evidence of P. Tebt. 895<sup>112</sup>. There are two questions to be asked at this juncture: (1) did the epistrategos have authority throughout the whole chora<sup>113</sup>; and (2) was the case of Hippalos wholly exceptional or can we find other evidence of epistrategoi with authority outside the Thebaid?

In answer to the first of these questions Skeat maintained that Hippalos had competence in the whole chora, on the grounds that the words *ὁ τότε προκαθήμενος τῆς χώρας* (in UPZ 110.164ff.) were specifically referring to him in his capacity as epistrategos<sup>114</sup>. This I believe to be correct. Doubt

<sup>109</sup> This view finds its clearest expression in J. G. Droysen, *Kleine Schriften* II (1893) 384; cf. also Bouché-Leclercq, III 141.

<sup>110</sup> Martin 26–8.

<sup>111</sup> See below, pp. 55–9.

<sup>112</sup> Pp. 12–13. This text proves not only that Hippalos as epistrategos had authority in the Fayum, but that his authority extended down river from there (cf. Chap. 2 n. 60); cf. also P. Tebt. 750 and 920.

<sup>113</sup> By *χώρα* I understand the whole of Egypt with the exception of the Greek cities, Alexandria, Ptolemais and Naukratis. There is some doubt whether Alexandria was regarded as constitutionally distinct from Egypt proper as early as the first part of the second century, see W. Otto, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers* (1934) 57–8, and P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (1972) I 107–9. But there can be no doubt that the distinction between Alexandria and the *χώρα* was known at this date in view of P. Grad. 1 (third century), which contrasts *τοὺς μὲν ἐν Ἀλε[ξανδρ]είῃ* with *τοὺς δ' ἐν [τῇ] χώρῃ*, cf. P. Hamb. 168 (third century), SB 8993 (175/4) and BGU 1211 (Philopator). Otto–Bengtson 8 n. 6 suggest the *ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως* at Alexandria may have balanced the epistrategos in the chora.

<sup>114</sup> Arch. Pap. xii (1936) 40–3.

might well be felt, however, on two counts, (a) the identity of the Hippalos who was epistrategos with the Hippalos in UPZ 110<sup>115</sup>, and (b) the nature of the post held by Hippalos in the latter document. Doubts about the identity seem to me to be misplaced: it may well be that Hippalos was a not uncommon name among the upper classes in Ptolemaic Egypt<sup>116</sup>; but it is surely very hard to believe that there were two persons of this name both holding high office in the chora at approximately the same date. The nature of the official post which Hippalos in UPZ 110 had held needs more careful consideration. Dittenberger long ago suggested that it was the position of epistrategos<sup>117</sup>, but this was usually rejected, most notably by Wilcken<sup>118</sup>: in re-editing the relevant papyrus as UPZ 110 he noted the similarity between the words used of the charge Hippalos had enjoyed and that at present held by Herodes, the writer of the papyrus, and supposed that Hippalos had preceded Herodes in the position of dioiketes<sup>119</sup>. Now there is certainly nothing impossible in Hippalos' having been at different times both epistrategos and dioiketes<sup>120</sup> and in either order<sup>121</sup>. It might be urged that ὁ τότε προκαθήμενος τῆς χώρας is an odd circumlocution for Herodes the dioiketes to use of one of his predecessors and that the words would much better suit a new and extraordinary office such as that of epistrategos may well have been, but it could be retorted that Herodes is just the sort of man who would use five words where one would suffice<sup>122</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> See Otto, RE VIII (1913) 1657–60, s. v. Hippalos (1) and (2).

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Dittenberger ad OGIS 103.2, with addenda, and Chap. 4 n. 12.

<sup>117</sup> Ad OGIS 103.2.

<sup>118</sup> So also Martin 78f., cf. Otto, RE cit. 1657.

<sup>119</sup> See UPZ 110 intr. and note to ll. 164 and 166; cf. Bouché-Leclercq III 318 'évidemment un dioécète'. Of Hippalos it is said (164ff.) κατὰ τὴν ὁμολίαν περιστάσιν 'Ἰππάλου . . . . προτρεψαμένου τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς ἐπιδεξασθαι τὰ τῆς ἀσχολίας; which may be compared with what Herodes says of his own duties in ll. 80f. (ἡμᾶς, οἷς ἡ τῶν ὅλων ἐπίκειται φ[ρ]οντίς) and ll. 155ff. (It is only a deduction, but it has never to my knowledge been doubted, that Herodes was dioiketes.) Cf. Henne, REA xlii (1940) = Mel. Radet, 178.

<sup>120</sup> As Hephaestion was in the first century, see p. 105.

<sup>121</sup> Hippalos was epistrategos for certain in 176/5 (see pp. 87–8) and ὁ προκαθήμενος τῆς χώρας at a date prior to 164. If the latter post were that of dioiketes it could have been held either before or after 176/5. This would not affect the hierarchical position of the epistrategos vis-à-vis the dioiketes (on which see below, pp. 76–7): the office of epistrategos is likely to have been new and extraordinary at this date, so that the administration might well have wished to fill it with an experienced administrator, e. g. one who had already been dioiketes, without necessarily implying that his new post ranked higher than his old.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Mahaffy's remarks in P. Petrie III, pp. 16f., on this 'pompous and garrulous official', 'these things . . . might have been expressed in a document of half the length'. Bouché-Leclercq, III 316, calls the style 'redondant et ampoulé'; see also E. Mayer, Grammatik der griechischen Papyri I i (1st ed.), 4 n. 1 and 26.

The evidence of P. Tebt. 895, however, proving that Hippalos as epistrategos had authority outside the Thebaid at least as far north as the Fayum, is a very strong argument in support of reading the words ὁ τότε προκαθήμενος τῆς χώρας as a reference to his position as epistrategos.

If that be thought not conclusive, we can, I think, demonstrate that the post Hippalos is described as having held in UPZ 110 was not that of dioiketes. It seems to be generally tacitly assumed that the dioiketes was head of the administration throughout the Ptolemaic period. To discuss how far this is true would lead us too far from the subject in hand. Nor do I wish to deny the very powerful position held by Apollonios as dioiketes in the third century<sup>123</sup>, nor on the other hand to dispute that the dioiketes was the direct superior of the nome strategos in the first century<sup>124</sup>. But what I would suggest is that the position was different in the first half of the second century. In the first place P. Berl. Zilliacus 1, of 156/5, contains a letter from a nome strategos to the dioiketes written as from one on equal terms<sup>125</sup>. In the second place the dioiketes at this time has a much lower court rank than the epistrategos, indeed one which is on a level with that borne by nome strategoi: in the papyrus just mentioned both he and the strategos are ἀρχισωματοφύλακες, and slightly earlier the dioiketes is no higher than τῶν φίλων<sup>126</sup>. Against this the epistrategos is on the higher grade of τῶν πρώτων φίλων as early as 176/5<sup>127</sup>. Though it is uncertain how far court ranks were independent of official position at this date<sup>128</sup>, there is a clear implication here that the dioiketes at this period ranked lower than the epistrategos and no higher than the ordinary nome strategos. If this is correct it is impossible for a dioiketes to be described as προτρεψαμένου τοὺς στρατηγούς καὶ τοὺς λαοὺς ἐ[πι]δέξασθαι τὰ τῆς ἀσχολίας, as is said of Hippalos in UPZ 110.165–7. If he is not dioiketes we can hardly doubt that he is epistrategos and Skeat's view may be held to have been proved.

We may now turn to the second question with which this section began, whether Hippalos was wholly exceptional or whether other epistrategoi held authority outside the Fayum. There is a *prima facie* case for accepting a view which modifies only slightly that of Martin: that the first epistrategos, Hippalos, was competent for the whole chora; but that when the

<sup>123</sup> Cf. R. Seider, *Beiträge zur ptolemäischen Verwaltungsgeschichte* (1938), pp. 43–73.

<sup>124</sup> There is plenty of evidence of this in BGU VIII, esp. 1747, 1760, 1772.

<sup>125</sup> Note esp. the tone of lines 34ff. and that the strategos ends his letter with ἔρρωσο.

These points are stressed both by Zilliacus in his edition and by Peremans and Van 't Dack in *Stud. Calderini-Paribeni II* (1957) 195–6.

<sup>126</sup> UPZ 14.123 (158/7), cf. OGIS 100 (Philometer?).

<sup>127</sup> See the list, s. v. Hippalos, and add P. Tebt. 920.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. below, pp. 42ff..

office was revived in the person of Boethos<sup>129</sup> and for all subsequent epistrategoi the competence of the holder was limited to the Thebaid. This would explain why, as we shall see, virtually every text later than the date at which Hippalos was epistrategos which has significance for the epistrategos' powers comes from the Thebaid, and why so many of the holders of the post are at the same time strategoi of the Thebaid. It would also help to account for the conspicuous absence of the epistrategos from documents in which he might have been expected to appear, particularly those from the Herakleopolite nome in the first century<sup>130</sup>. It might also help to explain why the Roman administration included right from the start an ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος, since they would merely have taken over an existing institution<sup>131</sup>. Finally, it would help us to interpret two otherwise embarrassing inscriptions in which the epistrategos has the title στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος, thus seeming to link the post of epistrategos unequivocally with the Thebaid<sup>132</sup>.

It can be demonstrated, I believe, that this view, on first glance so attractive, will not stand, at least not in the form in which I have just stated it. Even at the time Martin wrote there were a few texts which did not chime in at all well with his theory that all epistrategoi were limited to the Thebaid. Of three inscriptions which are relevant two were known to Martin. The first of these is a dedication to Apollodoros, who bears the titles ἐπιστράτηγον καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεις, made by Alexandrians resident in the Fayum, from which the inscription comes<sup>133</sup>. Martin maintained that the titles represent a cursus and that at the time of the dedication Apollodoros was πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεις but not ἐπιστράτηγος; therefore the presence of this text in the Fayum is no proof that an epistrategos had authority there<sup>134</sup>. I do not accept that we have a cursus in this text<sup>135</sup>, but I should admit that it does not prove that Apollodoros had any official standing in the Fayum qua epistrategos<sup>136</sup>. The second inscription is even less damaging to his views: it was set up on Delos in honour of an ἐπιστράτηγος by Roman

<sup>129</sup> See the list. Whether the assumption that there was no epistrategos between Hippalos and Boethos is correct or not we do not know; but cf. pp. 82–3.

<sup>130</sup> This will need further consideration, see pp. 81–3.

<sup>131</sup> Ptolemaios of SB 8428, 17/16 B. C.; cf. what was said above, p. 17.

<sup>132</sup> OGIS 168.49 (115) and SB 2264 (49). These difficult titles will be examined again, see pp. 79–80.

<sup>133</sup> SB 1568.

<sup>134</sup> Martin 74f.

<sup>135</sup> See pp. 73–5.

<sup>136</sup> The Alexandrians could be honouring him for benefits conferred by him in a purely private capacity or as πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεις, and it is a *possible* reading of the text that qua epistrategos his competence was limited to the Thebaid.

traders<sup>137</sup>. No one would wish to argue that this text proves that the epistrategos had authority on the island of Delos, that is outside Egypt altogether. The Romans put it up at a place convenient to themselves and what help they had derived from the man honoured, if it was given in his capacity as epistrategos, *could* have been given to them in the Thebaid<sup>138</sup>. A third inscription, the relevant part of which was not published until 1926 and so was not known to Martin<sup>139</sup>, records a request to the sovereigns from priests in the Fayum and belongs to 95/4. The priests ask that instructions be given to Πτολεμαίῳ τῷ συγγενεῖ καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφῳ καὶ ἐπιστρατήγῳ. As in the case of Apollodoros it could be argued that we have a cursus and that Ptolemaios was not epistrategos at the time of the inscription<sup>140</sup>. In this instance too I find this impossible to accept<sup>141</sup>, but again I should allow the possibility that the request is made for Ptolemaios to act in the Fayum solely in his capacity as hypomnematographos and that the text does not prove that his competence as epistrategos extended to this area<sup>142</sup>.

There are three relevant papyri. In editing P. Tebt. 86, a land survey of the late second century, Grenfell and Hunt reported that on the verso there stood a mutilated official document which mentioned an epistrategos, i. e. a reference to an epistrategos in a text which would seem to belong in the Fayum. We shall return to this in a moment. The second papyrus is a Strasbourg text first published in 1920<sup>143</sup>; in a fragmentary context it refers to an ἐπιστρατήγῳ. Unfortunately neither its date nor more especially its provenance is known. It is noteworthy, however, that its inventory number is P. gr. 2448a and that inv. P. gr. 2448b (= P. Strasb. 99) is from the Herakleopolite nome. There must therefore be a possibility that the texts came together in the inventory because both are from the same provenance<sup>144</sup>. If so this is a clear indication of an epistrategos functioning outside the

<sup>137</sup> Inscr. Délos 1527.

<sup>138</sup> Cf. SEHHW III 1554 n. 201; note too my remarks on the inscription by Romans in honour of Lochos, also set up at Delos, below, pp. 115–16.

<sup>139</sup> SB 7259, first published in full by P. Collomp, *Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatique des Lagides* (1926) 203–5. A section had been edited previously, see OGIS 740.

<sup>140</sup> But cf. Collomp, *op. cit.* 48–9.

<sup>141</sup> See pp. 73–5.

<sup>142</sup> Cf. OGIS 736 and SB 6155, similar requests where the official concerned has the title of ὑπομνηματογράφος only.

<sup>143</sup> P. Strasb. 98 (merely dated second century by its editor).

<sup>144</sup> Professor P. Bureth has been kind enough to look into this for me. He reports that there is no certain evidence for the provenance of Strasbourg papyri other than that given in the texts themselves.



Thebaid<sup>145</sup>. The third papyrus undoubtedly refers to an epistrategos with authority in the Fayum, but as he has the court rank of τῶν πρώτων φίλων, a rank which only Hippalos among epistrategoι is known to have borne, and as the date is suitable, I have no doubt that the editors are right to regard him as Hippalos<sup>146</sup>.

All this does not apparently amount to very much. It would still be possible to hold that Hippalos was a wholly exceptional epistrategos with power throughout the chora, and that all subsequent epistrategoι were limited to the Thebaid. But this is to reckon without the evidence of P. Tebt. 86 verso, to which we must now return<sup>147</sup>. The papyrus is from the Fayum and explicitly mentions κωμογραμματεῖς of the Arsinoite nome; there is thus every reason to suppose that the epistrategos occurring in it was functioning in the Fayum. He was not Hippalos: in the first place he has the court rank of συγγενής, whereas Hippalos is only known with that of τῶν πρώτων φίλων and may well not have been still epistrategos when the συγγενής title was introduced<sup>148</sup>; and in the second place the text is on the back of a land survey placed by the editors in the *late* second century, a date which suits comparable documents in the archive<sup>149</sup>. The text thus proves beyond doubt that a second epistrategos in addition to Hippalos had authority outside the Thebaid.

This may well lead us to look with a rather different eye on the evidence we have just reviewed. If two epistrategoι for certain controlled Middle and Upper Egypt (no doubt in fact the whole chora), there must be a fair chance that this is true also for the unnamed epistrategos of P. Strasb. 98, for the man in Inscr. Delos 1527, for Apollodoros in SB 1568, and for Ptolemaios in SB 7259. The last is the most significant, for it suggests that epistrategoι not limited to the Thebaid continued to exist until at least 95/4. Must we go on to suppose that *all* epistrategoι had authority throughout the whole chora? With this question we come close to the heart of the central

<sup>145</sup> As the text is merely dated 'second century', it could perhaps relate to Hippalos. Against this it should be noted that all other Strasbourg texts from the Herakleopolite belong much later in the second century.

<sup>146</sup> P. Tebt 920. I ignore P. Ryl. 572, where the editors suggest the recipient may have been an epistrategos (l. 1 n.), the text being in that case from the Oxyrhynchite nome (which, despite the editors, was *not* in the Thebaid; see below, Appendix 2); as they remark themselves, the recipient is more likely to have been the strategos.

<sup>147</sup> The papyrus is edited in full in Appendix 1.

<sup>148</sup> Probably some twenty-five years after we first hear of other court ranks, i. e. in the early 160 s, cf. Mitford, Inscr. Kourion (1971), p. 93 (or even later, see Fraser, Ptol. Alex. II 185 n. 67; but SB 10015 seems to belong no later than 169). On the date at which Hippalos ceased to be epistrategos see pp. 89–90.

<sup>149</sup> On the dating see further Appendix 1.

problem concerning the office of epistrategos in the Ptolemaic period and it will be best to defer consideration of it for the present<sup>150</sup>.

### 7. *The epistrategos and the strategos of the Thebaid*

Many epistrategoi also held the post of strategos of the Thebaid. Martin, however, sought to maintain that the two posts were one and the same<sup>151</sup>, and in this he has generally been followed<sup>152</sup>. What we must seek to answer is this: were the posts identical? and if we find this to be unacceptable for the whole period during which epistrategoi are known to have existed, did they nevertheless become identical from a certain date?

#### (a) Strategoi of the Thebaid and strategoi in the Thebaid

Before we can answer the above question we must first establish as far as possible which of the strategoi appearing in the Thebaid are to be classed as στρατηγοὶ τῆς Θηβαίδος. This important post is attested for at least the last two centuries of Ptolemaic rule; its holder was superior to most if not all other officials in the Thebaid and had military as well as civil power<sup>153</sup>. Therefore he is (or at any rate became) different in kind from the mere nome strategos. However, the latter type of strategos, i. e. the strategos in charge of a single nome as he is known from the rest of Egypt from the third century, did exist in the Thebaid, but very probably only during the first century<sup>154</sup>. There is an obvious attraction, by way of simplifying the complicated picture of the Ptolemaic organisation of the Thebaid, in supposing that all strategoi who appear there before the first century are strategoi of the Thebaid. Nevertheless it is usually held that the Thebaid had as well strategoi of a third type, namely those whose powers were the same as the nome strategos elsewhere in Egypt but who differed from them in having control over a *group of nomes*<sup>155</sup>; for convenience I shall refer to such strategoi

<sup>150</sup> See pp. 80ff.

<sup>151</sup> Martin 23–31.

<sup>152</sup> E. g. by Peremans and Van 't Dack, and Miss Vandoni, referred to above, p. 15. The notable exponent of the alternative view is Bengtson (pp. 121ff.), cf. already Otto-Bengtson 8f.

<sup>153</sup> On the date of its creation see pp. 50–3 and for its powers, Chapter 2 passim.

<sup>154</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>155</sup> To my knowledge this point has only been argued in detail by Van 't Dack 1949, esp. 18–24 (cf. id. CE xxiii (1948) 152–5), but the existence of such strategoi is mentioned by Bengtson 112ff. and assumed by him for nos. 92, 95 and 105 in his list (pp. 207–25), and in PP I 209, 238, 240, 253, 260, 314 and 326. Jouguet criticises Martin's failure to consider the relationship between these strategoi and the strategos of the Thebaid in REG xxv (1912) 229–30.

henceforth as 'lesser' strategoi. We need to establish whether or not such lesser strategoi ever existed. In practice we may confine our examination to the second-century material.

The use of titles will not settle the problem for us. Martin held that στρατηγός by itself was never used of the strategos of the Thebaid in any official document<sup>156</sup>; but this will not do. Since Martin wrote an inscription referring to Boethos simply as στρατηγός has appeared, and yet in this text he is most certainly strategos of the Thebaid<sup>157</sup>. One might argue conversely that since στρατηγός is used without further qualification to refer to strategoi in the Thebaid in the second century, the natural inference is that at this date there was only one type of strategos in the area, namely the στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος. However, this cannot be regarded as conclusive and a careful study of the evidence would seem to make it untenable.

The question cannot be solved simply by reference to Inscr. Phil. 19, where in ll. 22ff. priests complain of trouble caused to them by frequent visits to Philai of officials, among them στρατηγοί in the plural. Clearly this need mean no more than visits at different times by different strategoi, none of whom need have coexisted and all of whom could have been στρατηγοί τῆς Θηβαίδος<sup>158</sup>. Nor can we deduce anything conclusive from communication directly from the strategos of the Thebaid to the nome epistates. Though it might be alleged that such by-passing of the 'lesser' strategos implied that such a strategos did not at the time exist, the argument is rather frail<sup>159</sup>. We can only hope to settle this question by examining in turn each case of an alleged 'lesser' strategos to see whether he must in fact have held this position<sup>160</sup>.

<sup>156</sup> Martin 70 n. 1; he was prepared to accept that Paos, when στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος, is referred to as στρατηγός tout court in one or two letters.

<sup>157</sup> Arch. Pap. v (1913) 415f., where the sovereigns address a letter πρὸς Βόηθον τὸν συγγενῇ καὶ στρατηγόν in 135 (on his position at this date see p. 92).

<sup>158</sup> The complaint is directed against στρατηγοί καὶ ἐπιστάται καὶ θηβάρχει καὶ βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς καὶ ἐπιστάται τῶν φυλακῶν καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι πραγματικοὶ πάντες. Despite Bengtson (p. 120), it is surely impossible that there should have been more than one thebarch in existence at a time (cf. below, p. 70).

<sup>159</sup> Instances are BM eg. 10591 recto iii and verso iv, P. Grenf. I 11 and 38, discussed below (cf. P. Merton 5), and in fact all earlier, I believe, than the introduction of 'lesser' strategoi into the Thebaid. But in UPZ 191 and 193 the epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid communicates directly with the nome epistates at a date (111–10) at which a 'lesser' strategos very probably did exist.

<sup>160</sup> I omit as too doubtful the following:

|                         |           |                                                                     |
|-------------------------|-----------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Anon., son of Platon    | 2nd cent. | Mussies no. 233                                                     |
| Menandros son of Mikros | c. 140/17 | See Appendix 3 n. 15                                                |
| Hieronimos              | 169/4     | Regarded as strategos of the Thebaid in PP I 192, cf. below, n. 257 |

(1) *Daimachos*. A strategos of this name occurs in two dated texts, one from a year 24 and the other from a year 4<sup>161</sup>. Great difficulty has been caused by the assumption that year 24 referred to the reign of Epiphanes, i. e. to 182/1, and year 4 to the joint reign of Philometor and Euergetes II, i. e. to 167/6. If so are we to think of one man in office for a long period, or of two men, both strategoi and both bearing this unusual name within a short interval from one another?<sup>162</sup> Skeat is able to show a way out of this difficulty<sup>163</sup>: year 24 is unquestionably 182/1, so the obvious solution is to refer year 4 to Philometor's sole rule, that is to 178/7, whereupon the difficulties at once disappear. There was but one Daimachos and he was strategos at least from 181 to 178/7<sup>164</sup>. He is to be seen operating in the

|            |                 |                                                                |
|------------|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Apoll[     | undated         | Strategos of the Thebaid? see Van 't Dack 1952, 443            |
| Ptolemaios | pre 169/8?      | See Henne p. 35                                                |
| Anon.      | 149/8?          | Inscr. Phil. 12 bis, see n. 71 above and pp. 90–1              |
| Anon.      | post 130?       | P. Grenf. I 42, see n. 242                                     |
| Harmephis  | 160             | Mussies no. 287a                                               |
| Lykiskos   | pre 165         | Mussies no. 294                                                |
| Anon.      | pre 134/3       | SB 4472, see p. 45 n. 254                                      |
| Anon.      | 152/1 or 141/40 | U. Kaplony-Heckel, <i>Die demotischen Tempeleide</i> (1963) 77 |
| Anon.      | 119/18          | Ibid. 140                                                      |

(The references in Henne are to *Liste des stratèges* (1935), and Mussies to *Supplément à la liste des stratèges* (P. L. Bat. xiv) 1965). On Lysimachos, allegedly strategos of the Thebaid in the third century, see Bengtson 222. I do not know why Mussies no. 303 includes Heraklides of UPZ 162 (117), as the text clearly calls him epistates. On Timarchos of the Siut archive see Appendix 3, p. 133.

<sup>161</sup> In P. Grenf. I 11 (year 24) Daimachos' title is not mentioned, but the function he performs is consistent with that of strategos. In BGU 1907 (year 4) στρατηγός is supplied, but here the court rank διάδοχος guarantees that he is the strategos of SB 8033. This last papyrus bears a date of year 24 scrawled at the foot in a different hand, but this does not necessarily fix the date of the petition preceding, which is usually put 163–58, cf. Wilcken, *Arch. Pap.* xi (1935) 292f.

<sup>162</sup> Wilcken, loc. cit., believed in two men of the same name. Peremans and Van 't Dack, in republishing P. Grenf. I 11 in RIDA i (1948) 163–72, esp. 167–8, believe there was one man in office over a long period; cf. Van 't Dack 1949, 18, for whom the position is complicated by his belief that Theomnestos was a 'lesser' strategos within the relevant period (cf. below).

<sup>163</sup> I am very much indebted to Skeat for allowing me to see his article on this point prior to publication [now = JEA lix (1973) 169–74]. In it he (a) shows that year 24 must belong to Epiphanes and that therefore Daimachos was strategos by 27 August 181; (b) suggests that year 4 be attributed to Philometor's sole reign, i. e. 178/7.

<sup>164</sup> If the date at the foot of SB 8033 is correctly read and if it relates to the document preceding, Daimachos was strategos as early as October 182.

Pathyrite nome and in Perithebas, two adjoining nomes<sup>165</sup>. At this date he was certainly not strategos of a single nome, but there is nothing in what we know of him incompatible with his having been strategos of the Thebaid<sup>166</sup>. This seems to me the most probable description of his post<sup>167</sup>.

(2) *Theomnestos*. It has been alleged that he was an epistrategos<sup>168</sup> and his case will therefore need considering below<sup>169</sup>. To anticipate my conclusions, I believe that in the Siut archive he is strategos of the Thebaid, and there is no reason why he should not have held this post in P. Lond. 610<sup>170</sup>.

(3) *Noumenios*<sup>171</sup>. In P. Grenf. I 38, which dates from a year 11, he has been held to be a nome strategos<sup>172</sup> and so could be ranked as a 'lesser' strategos of the type we are considering. But a man of the same name appears in the Siut archive, where he is unquestionably strategos of the Thebaid<sup>173</sup>. If we identify the two, the year 11 of Grenfell's papyrus will be 171/70, i. e. it belongs exactly to the period when Noumenios is known as strategos of the Thebaid<sup>174</sup>. There can therefore be no real doubt that this is the

<sup>165</sup> Earlier they may have been two toparchies of a single nome (cf. Thomas, JEA 1 (1964) 139, and A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup> (1971) 472 n. 4), but the reference to the lower toparchy of Perithebas in SB 8033 is sufficient proof that by this date it was a nome. It may not yet have been administratively independent of the Pathyrite and I do not doubt that the area under Daimachos' control, even if it was not the whole Thebaid, extended beyond these two nomes.

<sup>166</sup> This possibility seems only to have occurred to Van 't Dack, who remarks 'il n'était guère stratège de la Thébaïde' (CE xxiii (1948) 154 n. 4), but does not discuss the point.

<sup>167</sup> In support of this I would mention (a) his orders go directly to Pechytes, probably the nome epistates (so Peremans–Van 't Dack, loc. cit.), (b) the use of the title στρατηγός without qualification could have caused confusion had there been more than one strategos with competence in the Pathyrite area, and (c) it is my impression that there were no 'lesser' strategoi anywhere in the Thebaid until much later in the second century.

<sup>168</sup> By Bengtson, p. 206.

<sup>169</sup> Pp. 113–14.

<sup>170</sup> Note that he too, like Daimachos, is found giving orders directly to a nome epistates (BM eg. 10591 verso iv, cf. recto iii).

<sup>171</sup> Νουμήσιος is the form in which his name appears in P. Lond. 610 (information from Skeat). P. Grenf. I 38, which addresses him as Νουμήν, is an illiterate piece of work so that we need not doubt that Νουμήσιος is the correct form.

<sup>172</sup> I. e. of the Pathyrite: see Henne, *Stratégès*, 36 (but cf. suppl. 22) and REA xlvii (1940) 172.

<sup>173</sup> BM eg. 10591 recto ii 3–4, iii 21 and verso iii 3–4, which prove that he held the post by 171/70 and may well have held it in 173 (cf. below, p. 113). On his post in these texts see Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* v (1948) 50ff.

<sup>174</sup> Grenfell originally dated the text second/first century and held that it could not be as early as Philometor on palaeographical grounds. He is followed by Collomp,

post he holds in both these texts and in two other papyri where he appears without a title<sup>175</sup>.

(4) *Sokrates*. In a complaint by priests addressed in demotic to Noumenios as strategos of the Thebaid reference is made to Sokrates 'who was strategos of the districts round about Syene'<sup>176</sup>. The date is prior to 171/70. Although the name is not uncommon, it is tempting to identify him with [Σω]κράτει(?) στρατηγῶι τῶν ἄνω τόπων, the recipient of a petition from a soldier at Elephantine<sup>177</sup>. The man in the demotic text cannot be strategos of the Thebaid and there is the possibility that we should see in him a 'lesser' strategos. However, an alternative is possible; namely that he was not a nome strategos at all but a military strategos in charge of a border district<sup>178</sup>. This suits the ostrakon very well, but is less satisfactory for the demotic papyrus where the connection in which Sokrates is mentioned is purely civil. It is nevertheless very likely that a military strategos in a border area such as Elephantine/Syene would be appealed to by the local inhabitants in non-military affairs and would thus acquire de facto some civil authority. I am very reluctant to believe that we have in this Sokrates an example of a 'lesser' strategos at such an early date<sup>179</sup>.

(5) *Boethos*. We know that his career included the posts of strategos of the Thebaid and epistrategos<sup>180</sup>, but the two earliest texts referring to him

Chancellerie, 37, but not by, for example, Bengtson 226 (cf. 99) and Reekmans–Van 't Dack, RIDA v (1950) 419–23, who hold as I do that the two men are to be identified. Note too that the court rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, which Noumenios has in P. Grenf. I 38, is too low even for a nome strategos if the text belonged at the end of the second century or later (cf. below, pp. 43 ff. and Skeat, Mizraim ii (1936) 33).

<sup>175</sup> P. Lond. 610 (information from Skeat), and SB 9108, where he is ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ but has no official title. Note that in P. Grenf. I 38.17f. he is requested to take action through the nome epistates direct (and in SB 9108.17f. through the ἀρχιφυλακίτης).

<sup>176</sup> BM eg. 10591 verso i 9–11 and iii 7–8, referred to in a petition of year 11. His period in office was clearly over by the time of this petition, therefore he cannot be identified with the Sokrates who appears in SB 9367 no. 10.13 of 163, if the latter is a strategos (cf. Reekmans–Van 't Dack, CE xxvii (1952) 190).

<sup>177</sup> BGU 1470, an ostrakon merely dated third/second century; the absence of a court rank for [So]krates would suit best a date before c. 190. It is possible that the strategos Sokrates in P. Heid. dem. 779 (undated) is the same man, cf. Henne, *Stratégès*, suppl. 23, and Van 't Dack 1949, 31f.

<sup>178</sup> For the existence of such military strategoi cf. Martin 70 and those classed as Grenzkommandos by Bengtson on p. 225; also my remarks below on Boethos and Heroides. Mussies, P. L. Bat. xiv, no. 3, classes him with these strategoi, and Van 't Dack 1949, 31f., thinks he may have been a military strategos.

<sup>179</sup> He remains something of a mystery, as Henne, op. cit. xxi–xxii, remarks; there is no *nome* of Syene and a strategos of a mere toparchy is hardly credible.

<sup>180</sup> See pp. 91–2.

give him the title στρατηγός without further qualification<sup>181</sup>. He is included in Mussies' list of nome strategoi as strategos of τῶν ἄνω τόπων<sup>182</sup>, but there is really no likelihood that he was ever a 'lesser' strategos. If he is not strategos of the Thebaid in these inscriptions he was a military strategos with authority on the southern border<sup>183</sup>.

(6) *Heroides*. His only appearance as strategos is in an inscription to be dated soon after 146, where he has the rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ<sup>184</sup>. He is no doubt to be identified with the subordinate of Boethos in OGIS 111<sup>185</sup>. He cannot be strategos of the Thebaid<sup>186</sup> since the post was held at this time by Boethos<sup>187</sup>. But there is no likelihood that he was a lesser strategos. Evidence for him comes from a border district, and since we know that his earlier career was military, he no doubt is to be reckoned a military strategos<sup>188</sup>.

(7) *Paos*. Like Boethos he became strategos of the Thebaid and epistrategos<sup>189</sup> and like him too he is earlier mentioned with the title στρατηγός alone<sup>190</sup>; but there the parallel ends. The text in which he is strategos without qualification is certainly the earliest reference to him as he is only τῶν πρώτων φίλων, whereas elsewhere he is always συγγενής. The year 34 to which it refers is 137/6<sup>191</sup>. Therefore Paos cannot be strategos of the Thebaid here as the post was at this time held by Boethos<sup>192</sup>. He may have followed exactly the career of Boethos, rising from a military strategos to strategos of the Thebaid and then epistrategos, but there is nothing in this text to suggest that his post was military. On the contrary, the petition he

<sup>181</sup> OGIS 111 and MDAIK xxvi (1970) 169; on the date see below, p. 92. In Arch. Pap. v (1913) 416.14 he is again referred to as στρατηγός tout court, but at this date (135) we know that he was strategos of the Thebaid; the omission of τῆς Θηβαίδος follows the pattern of OGIS 168.34, which is also from the sovereigns.

<sup>182</sup> Op. cit. 15, no. 4.

<sup>183</sup> See pp. 91–2.

<sup>184</sup> OGIS 130; on the date see Dittenberger ad loc.

<sup>185</sup> Where he has the rank of διάδοχος. Very probably he also occurs, again as διάδοχος, in SB 6045, and perhaps again in SB 1918 (cf. e. g. Bevan 294).

<sup>186</sup> As Dittenberger says, ad OGIS 130.6.

<sup>187</sup> See pp. 91–2.

<sup>188</sup> See esp. Van 't Dack 1949, 17f. and cf. PP II 2059. Bengtson 225 classes him under 'Grenzkommandos'. See already Martin 70.

<sup>189</sup> See pp. 94–5.

<sup>190</sup> P. Ryl. 66, intr.

<sup>191</sup> And not 148/7 as the editors say. On this text, and in particular its date, see below, Chap. 4, n. 65.

<sup>192</sup> See pp. 91–2.

receives apparently concerns a dispute over vineyards. We must therefore reckon with the possibility that he was a 'lesser' strategos<sup>193</sup>.

(8) *Ptolemaios*. In a recently published inscription, from the latter part of Euergetes II's reign, a phrourach of Elephantine makes a dedication ὑπὲρ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Πτολεμαίου τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ στρατηγοῦ and his sons<sup>194</sup>. The fact that the dedication is made by a phrourach suggests that this inscription is a parallel to one made by a phrourach to Boethos, at a time when, as we have just seen, he was probably a military strategos<sup>195</sup>. I should regard it as virtually certain that Ptolemaios too is a military strategos.

(9) *Santobithys*. In BGU 1247, from a year 33 or thereabouts<sup>196</sup>, a man of this name is recipient of a petition with the description ἀρχισωματοφύλακι καὶ στρατηγῶι. If the year refers to Philometor it is just possible that he preceded Boethos as strategos of the Thebaid<sup>197</sup>; and whether it refers to Philometor or Euergetes II he could perfectly well have been a military strategos of the type we have already seen occurring: the text belongs on the southern border district of Egypt and comes from a soldier. However, he is probably to be identified with the man who occurs three times without any official title surviving in a legal case which came before Boethos as epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid in about 134<sup>198</sup>. Here he has authority in the Pathyrite nome; if therefore he is a strategos in both texts he cannot have had a Grenzkommando and must have been a 'lesser' strategos, with authority in the entire southern part of the Thebaid. This conclusion is not inescapable: (1) The two texts may refer to two different homonyms of whom the one in BGU 1247 was a military strategos and the one in SB 4638 not a strategos at all<sup>199</sup>. (2) If we accept that both texts refer to

<sup>193</sup> Cf. Henne, *Stratégès*, suppl. 24. Mussies, P. L. Bat. xiv, 27 no. 302, classes him (doubtfully) as strategos of Peri Thebas, but I do not believe that strategoi in charge of a single nome existed as yet in the Thebaid, see Appendix 3.

<sup>194</sup> MDAIK xxvi (1970) 170.

<sup>195</sup> MDAIK xxvi (1970) 169, cf. OGIS 111.

<sup>196</sup> The editor opts for λ[γ], drawing attention to the related texts BGU 1248-9 which come from a year 34; but clearly years 31-34 are all possible.

<sup>197</sup> Boethos is not known to have reached this position before year 33 of Philometor, see p. 92.

<sup>198</sup> SB 4638 (on the date see P. Merton 5.1 n.). The identification is suggested by the editor of BGU 1247 and generally accepted, e. g. by Bengtson 223 no. 105 and Van 't Dack 1949, 19.

<sup>199</sup> But the name is most unusual. No other examples of it are cited in Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, or Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum*.



the same man, nevertheless BGU 1247, as remarked above, could belong to Philometor's reign. SB 4638 is firmly tied to the reign of Euergetes II but is constantly referring to past events. It is just possible that all the references in this text to Santobithys relate to the past, in which case he could have been strategos of the Thebaid at a date prior to 149, when Boethos is first known in the office<sup>200</sup>. (3) In SB 4638 it would suit the sense if Santobithys were an official of lower rank than a strategos<sup>201</sup>; we might then suppose that he had been promoted to the post of Grenzkommando by the date of BGU 1247, which would have to belong in or about year 34 of Euergetes II<sup>202</sup>. However, none of these suggestions looks convincing. The probability must be, therefore, that in Santobithys we have an example of a 'lesser' strategos<sup>203</sup>. If so the regnal year in BGU 1247 must refer to Euergetes II and Santobithys was in office in the early 130 s.

(10) In SB 4512, another lawsuit, related to the one in SB 4638, which likewise came before Boethos as epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid in 134, the petitioners say they have previously presented a ὑπό[μ]νημα[ c. 17 letters στρατηγῶι<sup>204</sup>. This could well refer to presentation of a petition to a strategos who was a subordinate of Boethos, i. e. a 'lesser' strategos of the type we are looking for<sup>205</sup>. Quite possible, however, is the restoration τῶι τότε στρατηγῶι<sup>206</sup>. In this case, even though the words τῆς Θηβαίδος are missing, this *could* refer to a predecessor of Boethos as strategos of the Thebaid.

<sup>200</sup> This seems to me the natural way to take the first reference to ἐπὶ Σαντοβίθιος in l. 20 (so Gerhard in the original publication, SB. Akad. Heidelberg 1911, 8. Abh., 13), but less so for l. 35, where ἐπὶ(?) Σαντοβίθιος seems to be part of a request for action at the present time. Most significantly, on the verso stands Σαντοβίθιος: this looks like an endorsement indicating the official to whom the case is to be referred, cf. P. Rein. 19 (which, like SB 4638, has no ὑπογραφή), where petitioners request βασιλικοὶ γραμματεῖς to write to τοῖς τῶν ξενικῶν πράκτορες and the verso is addressed Ἀγαθονικῶι Ἐπιμά[χ]ω[ι], the names of the relevant ξενικῶν πράκτορες.

<sup>201</sup> E. g. a nome epistates, or, as Gerhard thought (op. cit. 26), the ἀρχιφυλακίτης. Note that no court rank survives for Santobithys in this papyrus.

<sup>202</sup> Such promotion is suggested by the editor of BGU 1247, but he regarded SB 4638 (with Gerhard) as belonging to Philometor's reign; we now know this to be impossible (see below, p. 93).

<sup>203</sup> Bengtson 112f. accepts Santobithys and Hermias (on whom see below) as examples of 'lesser' strategoi.

<sup>204</sup> Lines 51f.

<sup>205</sup> If this is correct, it is by no means unlikely that the strategos in question was the Santobithys we have just been discussing.

<sup>206</sup> Cf. τῶν τότε στρατηγῶν in SB 9792.17.

(11) and (12) *Aineas* and *Diasthenes*. Both are referred to as στρατηγός<sup>207</sup>, which in itself would be acceptable enough as a designation of former strategoi of the Thebaid<sup>208</sup>. However, Wilcken has established that they were predecessors of Hermias, whom we know as strategos from 125/4–117<sup>209</sup>. This being so it is very hard to find room for them in the list of strategoi of the Thebaid, which is particularly crowded in this period<sup>210</sup>. In general the conclusion we shall come to in respect of Hermias is likely to hold true also for both these strategoi<sup>211</sup>.

(13) *Hermias*. He is known as strategos of an area embracing at least the Pathyrite, Latopolite and Peri Thebas<sup>212</sup>. I believe it very probable that the extent of his control reached further than this, south to the Ombite<sup>213</sup>. Was he strategos of the Thebaid?<sup>214</sup> There are two objections to this. (1) Wilcken claimed that this was impossible because Hermias on one occasion has the title νομάρχης as well as that of στρατηγός<sup>215</sup>. This seems to me inconclusive. The Thebaid had its own dioiketes, royal scribe and banker<sup>216</sup>, and so could very well have had a single central nomarch. If this was a minor financial post by this date, that still does not prevent its having been combined with the strategia; Kallimachos, when epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid, is also θηβάρχης, and this may well have been such a minor financial post<sup>217</sup>. (2) Much more seriously, it can be claimed that Hermias cannot have been strategos of the Thebaid because the post was being filled at the time by Demetrios<sup>218</sup>. Now, it is true that we find Hermias and Demetrios in office contemporaneously<sup>219</sup>, and that a Demetrios is known who was epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid<sup>220</sup>. But the

<sup>207</sup> Aineas: UPZ 162 II 23, cf. IV 27; Diasthenes UPZ 162 II 27, cf. IV 24.

<sup>208</sup> Bilabel, RE IVA (1932) 190, classes both as strategoi of the Thebaid.

<sup>209</sup> Note to UPZ 162 IV 22.

<sup>210</sup> See pp. 47 and 120.

<sup>211</sup> Nothing further is known of Aineas. It is possible that Diasthenes reappears in OGIS 146 (Euergetes II?), cf. Henne, *Stratégès*, suppl. 24.

<sup>212</sup> See Wilcken ad UPZ 162 II 32f. His view is accepted in Mussies, P. L. Bat. xiv, no. 316, Van 't Dack 1949, 19f., and Bengtson 221 ("wahrscheinlich").

<sup>213</sup> Cf. UPZ 162 III 6 and note; this is denied by Wilcken (ad UPZ 162 II 32f.), but accepted by Peremans–Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 4.

<sup>214</sup> As alleged by Bilabel, loc. cit.

<sup>215</sup> Note to UPZ 160.30 and 162 IV 22.

<sup>216</sup> διοικητής SB 7377; βασιλικὸς γραμματεὺς BGU 992 I 11f.; τραπεζίτης UPZ 201.16; cf. also Protarchos, ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα in BGU 992. I 2–3.

<sup>217</sup> See pp. 69–71.

<sup>218</sup> So Van 't Dack 1949, 20.

<sup>219</sup> In UPZ 162 II 35ff.

<sup>220</sup> *Inscr. Phil.* 20.

tantalising fact is that the papyrus which records Demetrios and Hermias acting in concert calls Demetrios simply ἐπιστράτηγος and does not add καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος<sup>221</sup>. It is thus possible to hold either that we have to do with two different persons called Demetrios<sup>222</sup>, of whom the one contemporaneous with Hermias was *not* strategos of the Thebaid, or that when he is acting at the same time as Hermias Demetrios is only epistrategos and not until later does he hold the post of strategos of the Thebaid as well. In either case this leaves it open for us to believe that Hermias was strategos of the Thebaid. But while there are these theoretical possibilities, neither is attractive, and I should be strongly inclined to accept Hermias as an example of a 'lesser' strategos.

(14) *Parthenios*. In several papyri of 118 we meet an Ammonios who was πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ τοῦ Θινίτου<sup>223</sup>. I should regard him as in charge of a single nome and so inferior to a true nome strategos<sup>224</sup>. In one of these papyri we read of τοῦ ἐπιδιο[θέντος] τῷ Παρθενίῳ ὑπομνή[ματος]<sup>225</sup>; the editors compare P. Tebt. 101 (120), in which a Parthenios who is συγγενῆς καὶ στρατηγός occurs, and this has led to the suggestions that Parthenios was strategos of the Thinite<sup>226</sup> or a 'lesser' strategos of the type we are now considering<sup>227</sup>. But there is no good reason why we should identify the two bearers of the name Parthenios, and even if we do, this does not prove that Parthenios ever held the post of strategos in the Thinite or anywhere else in the Thebaid<sup>228</sup>. In the Thinite papyrus he has no title and other posts which he might have held can easily be suggested<sup>229</sup>. In short this instance is much too hypothetical to be of any value for our present purpose.

From the above survey I should conclude that in Santobithys, Aineas, Diasthenes and Hermias we very probably do have examples of 'lesser' strategoi, and it is likely that we should add to their number Paos and the anonymous strategos of SB 4512. Other examples are to be rejected or at

<sup>221</sup> UPZ 162 I 17.

<sup>222</sup> This is examined further on pp. 101–3.

<sup>223</sup> PSI 166–72 and 1317.

<sup>224</sup> See pp. 132–3.

<sup>225</sup> PSI 166. 27–8.

<sup>226</sup> So Henne, *Stratégès*, 41 (doubtfully).

<sup>227</sup> So Van 't Dack 1949, 20 (doubtfully).

<sup>228</sup> He can hardly have been strategos of the Thebaid. As Van 't Dack, loc. cit., points out, the post was almost certainly held by Demetrios at this time (see pp. 102–3).

<sup>229</sup> E. g. he may have been Ammonios' predecessor as the official in charge solely of the Thinite nome.

best to be regarded as doubtful. One important point which this discussion has brought to light is that we do not have in the evidence at present available to us any satisfactory example of a 'lesser' strategos in the Thebaid before the 130 s<sup>230</sup>.

## (b) Court ranks

As the above survey could only suggest conclusions without providing us with decisive proof for the existence of 'lesser' strategoi, it is worth glancing briefly at possible conclusions to be drawn from the court ranks borne by strategoi functioning in the Thebaid in the second century<sup>231</sup>.

The voluminous literature on the subject has recently been surveyed by Mooren<sup>232</sup>. There is general agreement that at some date, possibly around 145, court rank became tied to office, i. e. all persons holding a particular office would have the same court rank and this was not varied for individuals<sup>233</sup>. Whether this was so at an earlier date is disputed, but I am inclined to believe that in this period too fixed court ranks were assigned to particular offices<sup>234</sup>. For convenience of later reference the following list is not confined to strategoi but includes as well epistrategoi and officials who may be classed as 'deputy-strategoi' in charge of single nomes<sup>235</sup>.

<sup>230</sup> For the possible significance of this see pp. 53–4. Note also that BGU 992 is an account of an auction conducted by officials of the Thebaid; P. R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman idios logos* (ASP 8; 1970) 37 n. 47, says that such auctions were conducted at nome level – an indication that the Thebaid still ranked on a par with nomes elsewhere in Egypt and had at this date (163) no 'lesser' strategoi? This would seem to be implied by the centralising of these purely civil offices.

<sup>231</sup> My list does not run beyond the penultimate decade as by then all the officials with whom I am concerned would have ranked as *συγγενής*, cf. Van 't Dack, *Antidorum* W. Peremans = *Stud. Hell.* xvi (1968) 264–9.

<sup>232</sup> In *Antidorum* W. Peremans 161–80; cf. also Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* I 102ff. and the bibliography cited by him II 183 n. 62. The fundamental study is by Strack, *Rhein. Mus.* lv (1900) 161–90 (I have not seen M. Trindl, *Ehrentitel im Ptolemäerreich*; Munich diss. 1942).

<sup>233</sup> On this aspect see esp. Skeat, *Mizraim ii* (1936) 30–5, Henne, *REA* xlii (1940) 172–86, Peremans, *Symbolae van Oven* (1946) 129–59, id. and Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 23–7, Bengtson 52–6.

<sup>234</sup> Such correlation before c. 145 is denied by, for example, Henne, loc. cit. 177ff., and Bengtson, loc. cit. It is maintained by what I may call 'the Louvain school', Reekmans–Van 't Dack, *RIDA* v (1950) 419–21, Peremans–Van 't Dack, loc. cit., Mooren, loc. cit. 174ff., and will certainly fit the evidence tabulated below. Atkinson's attempt (*Aegyptus* xxxii (1952) 204–14) to distinguish court ranks into two groups and to deny any correlation between them and office at any period, is mistaken, see Mooren, loc. cit. 172–3 and, esp. on the pitfalls inherent in using literary sources for technical terms, Cohen, op. cit. (n. 1) 33 n. 6.

<sup>235</sup> But not nome epistatai. On these 'deputy-strategoi' see Appendix 3, p. 132.

| Date                    | Official position           | Name                           | Reference                                                     |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------|
|                         |                             | διάδοχος                       |                                                               |
| 182–178/7               | στρατηγός                   | Daimachos                      | SB 8033, BGU 1907 <sup>236</sup>                              |
| 162                     | ὁ πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ         | Ptolemaios                     | BGU 992,<br>cf. SB 4512 <sup>237</sup>                        |
| pre 134/3               | στ[ρατηγός?]                | Anon.                          | SB 4472                                                       |
|                         |                             | ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ <sup>238</sup> |                                                               |
| 171/70                  | στρατηγός (of the Thebaid)  | Noumenios                      | BM eg. 10591 verso iii<br>3–4, P. Grenf. I 38,<br>cf. SB 9108 |
| 169/4                   | στρατηγός (of the Thebaid?) | Hieronymos                     | SB 1436 <sup>239</sup>                                        |
| 163/49                  | στρατηγός                   | Boethos                        | OGIS 111, MDAIK<br>xxvi (1970) 169                            |
| 149                     | στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος      | Boethos                        | P. Lond. 610 <sup>240</sup>                                   |
| post 146                | στρατηγός                   | Heroides                       | OGIS 130                                                      |
| 140/36                  | στρατηγός                   | Santobithys                    | BGU 1247 <sup>241</sup>                                       |
| Undated<br>(post 130??) | στρατηγός                   | Anon.                          | P. Grenf. I 42 <sup>242</sup>                                 |
| 128                     | ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυκοπολίτου         | Ammonios                       | P. Med. 31 <sup>243</sup>                                     |
|                         |                             | τῶν πρώτων φίλων               |                                                               |
| 176–5?                  | ἐπιστράτηγος                | Hippalos                       | OGIS 103 <sup>244</sup>                                       |
| 176/5 or<br>soon after  | ἐπιστράτηγος                | Hippalos                       | P. Tebt. 895.1, cf. 920                                       |

<sup>236</sup> On the date see p. 34. διάδοχος here is certainly a court rank not a reference to a position as deputy, cf. Stud. Hell. ix (1953) 24 n. 1.

<sup>237</sup> Van 't Dack 1949, 15–16, regards him as a deputy-strategos of the Thebaid. This cannot be deduced from the title διάδοχος, which must be a court rank (despite Van 't Dack and Collart-Jouguet, Et. Pap. ii (1934) 29): the article following, instead of καί, is not a fatal objection; Hippalos in OGIS 103 is τῶν πρώτων φίλων τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου. But I should accept the view that he is a deputy-strategos of the Thebaid because of his title πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ. Cf. Henne, Liste des stratèges, suppl. 21, and Bilabel, RE IVA (1932) 190.

<sup>238</sup> For the possibility that τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων is a later form of this title than ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ see Van 't Dack, Antidorum W. Peremans (1968) 264–9.

<sup>239</sup> See below, n. 257.

<sup>240</sup> See Skeat, Mizraim ii (1936) 32.

<sup>241</sup> On the date see above, pp. 38–9.

<sup>242</sup> W. Chr. 447 intr. suggests good reasons for putting the text after 130, but they are not conclusive and if the strategos is strategos of the Thebaid (cf. Chapter 2 n. 33) the court rank is too low for such a date (see p. 45). The πόλεμος could well be the Syrian war (cf. Van 't Dack, Antidorum W. Peremans (1968) 268 n. 8) or the invasion of Antiochos.

<sup>243</sup> Perhaps a nome epistates, rather than a 'deputy-strategos'.

<sup>244</sup> On the date see p. 88.

| Date                        | Official position                            | Name        | Reference                                                             |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------------------|-------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 149/35                      | στρατη[γός τῆς Θηβαίδος]                     | Boethos     | P. Merton 5.1                                                         |
| 137/6                       | στρατηγός                                    | Paos        | P. Ryl. 66 intr. <sup>245</sup>                                       |
| Late<br>Evergetes II        | στρατηγός                                    | Ptolemaios  | MDAIK xxvi (1970)<br>170                                              |
| 118                         | πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ                            | Ammonios    | PSI 166–72, cf. 1317                                                  |
| τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι |                                              |             |                                                                       |
| 125/4                       | στρατηγός                                    | Hermias     | UPZ 161.20–1                                                          |
| συγγενής                    |                                              |             |                                                                       |
| 135                         | στρατηγός (of the Thebaid)                   | Boethos     | Arch. Pap. v 416.14                                                   |
| After<br>136/5              | ἐπιστράτηγος [καὶ στρατηγός<br>τῆς Θηβαίδος] | Boethos     | SB 4638, cf. P. Amh. 36                                               |
| 134                         | ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγός<br>τῆς Θηβαίδος   | Boethos     | P. Giss. 36–7, 108,<br>SB 4512, UPZ 204, 210                          |
| 130                         | στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος                       | Paos        | OGIS 132                                                              |
| 129                         | ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγός<br>τῆς Θηβαίδος   | Paos        | UPZ 209.6–8                                                           |
| c. 127?                     | ἐπιστράτηγος                                 | (Timar)chos | Inscr. Délos 1527 <sup>246</sup>                                      |
| c. 127/4                    | στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος                       | Lochos      | Inscr. Phil. 19,<br>cf. UPZ 187 <sup>247</sup> ,<br>Inscr. Délos 1526 |
| 117                         | ἐπιστράτηγος                                 | Demetrios   | UPZ 162 I 17                                                          |
| c. 117?                     | ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγός<br>τῆς Θηβαίδος   | Demetrios   | Inscr. Phil. 20 <sup>248</sup>                                        |
| 117                         | στρατηγός                                    | Hermias     | UPZ 162 I 14                                                          |
| 115                         | στρατηγός καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος<br>τῆς Θηβαίδος   | Hermokrates | OGIS 168.49                                                           |
| 115/11                      | ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγός<br>τῆς Θηβαίδος   | Phommous    | P. Lond. 401,<br>cf. OGIS 168.34                                      |
| 111–10                      | Ditto                                        | Phommous    | UPZ 191–3 <sup>249</sup>                                              |

Leaving aside epistrategoi and ‘deputy-strategoi’<sup>250</sup> let us examine cases of persons with the title στρατηγός, with or without the addition τῆς Θηβαίδος.

<sup>245</sup> On the date see Chapter 4 n. 65.

<sup>246</sup> On the date see pp. 97–8.

<sup>247</sup> On the date see p. 115.

<sup>248</sup> The date depends on identifying him with the Demetrios of UPZ 162, cf. pp. 101–3.

<sup>249</sup> I omit Menandros = PP I 280, since nearly all his titles depend on restorations, see below, Appendix 3 n. 15.

<sup>250</sup> On the court ranks of epistrategoi see p. 81 and on the ‘deputy-strategoi’ p. 132.

If we make the assumption that *all* of these were strategoi of the Thebaid, we find ourselves in some difficulty. Santobithys still holds the rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ in 140–36<sup>251</sup>, yet Boethos, who was ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ while strategos of the Thebaid in 149, has progressed to the top rank of συγγενής by at least 135; and we know moreover from P. Merton 5 that he progressed via the intermediary rank of τῶν πρώτων φίλων. Furthermore, if Paos was a ‘lesser’ strategos in 137/6 when he held the rank of τῶν πρώτων φίλων<sup>252</sup>, it is virtually certain that the strategos of the Thebaid was already a συγγενής by this date. Thus there is a clear implication that Santobithys is to be reckoned as a ‘lesser’ strategos<sup>253</sup>. Even more significant is the evidence for Hermias. Though he became συγγενής by at least 117, in 125/4 he was still only τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι; yet the strategos of the Thebaid had been in the higher rank of συγγενής since at least 135. The implication is clear – Hermias is not strategos of the Thebaid but a ‘lesser’ strategos in charge of a group of nomes.

For strategoi of the Thebaid we can plot the following advance: if Daimachos held this post they began in the bottom rank of διάδοχος; by at least 171/70 they had progressed to ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, a rank which they continued to enjoy at any rate until 149; at an unknown date between then and 135 they were promoted to τῶν πρώτων φίλων, and by at the latest 135 and thereafter they were συγγενεῖς. Comparison of this progression with the court ranks listed above brings out clearly the difficulty just mentioned in believing that either Santobithys or Paos in P. Ryl. 66 intr. was strategos of the Thebaid, and the virtual impossibility of accepting this in the case of Hermias<sup>254</sup>. I conclude that this discussion supports the deductions we made above, namely that ‘lesser’ strategoi did exist in the Thebaid, distinct both from the strategoi of the Thebaid and ‘ordinary’ nome strategoi in charge of a single nome, but that we have no proof that they existed before the last four decades of the second century.

<sup>251</sup> Note that Bengtson 54 n. 1 considers Santobithys exceptional in not being τῶν πρώτων φίλων at this date.

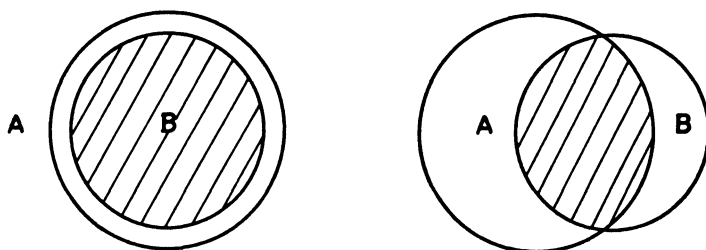
<sup>252</sup> See above, pp. 37–8.

<sup>253</sup> That is, if we reject the possibility that he was a military strategos (cf. above, p. 38). If both Santobithys in BGU 1247 and Paos in P. Ryl. 66 intr. were ‘lesser’ strategoi, BGU 1247, where the strategos is only ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, should be earlier than P. Ryl. 66 intr., where he is τῶν πρώτων φίλων. This is just possible, cf. above, pp. 37–9.

<sup>254</sup> Such a comparison also makes it very difficult to believe that Heroides, still ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ after 146, and Ptolemaios, still τῶν πρώτων φίλων in the latter part of Euergetes II’s reign, can have been strategoi of the Thebaid, which confirms what we deduced above, pp. 37–8. The reading στ[ρατηγῶν] in SB 4472 and the date are so uncertain that I leave this text out of account.

## (c) The co-existence of epistrategoi and strategoi of the Thebaid

From the above discussions we have a fairly clear picture of which strategoi known to us are to be classed as strategoi of the Thebaid. We must now endeavour to answer the question whether it was possible to be epistrategos without at the same time being strategos of the Thebaid<sup>255</sup>. Were these designations of two different posts or were the posts one and the same? To put it mathematically in terms of Venn diagrams, where circle A (the larger of the two) represents strategoi of the Thebaid, circle B epistrategoi, and  $A \cap B$  (the shaded portion) strategoi of the Thebaid who were also epistrategoi, is the position represented by the diagram on the left or by the one on the right?



The obvious way to answer this question is to try and demonstrate that the posts of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid could be held by different persons at one and the same time. We must therefore examine all possible cases of this occurring, and to facilitate reference I append a list of strategoi of the Thebaid<sup>256</sup>.

|             |                |                                                                                                       |
|-------------|----------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Daimachos   | 181–78/7       | Uncertain, see pp. 34–5                                                                               |
| Theomnestos | 173            | See pp. 113–14                                                                                        |
| Noumenios   | 173 and 171/70 | BM eg. 10591 recto ii 3–4, iii 21,<br>cf. verso iii 3–4, P. Grenf. I 38,<br>cf. SB 9108, P. Lond. 610 |
| Hieronimos  | 169/4          | SB 1436 <sup>257</sup>                                                                                |

<sup>255</sup> There can be no doubt that strategoi of the Thebaid existed who are not known to have been epistrategoi, see below, pp. 53–4. Van 't Dack, it will be remembered, considers there are two categories of epistrategos (above pp. 13–14); there is no difficulty for him in believing that epistrategoi of the chora (type A) could co-exist with strategoi of the Thebaid (cf. n. 263 below), but such co-existence is of course excluded for his type B, all of whom he considers to have been strategoi of the Thebaid.

<sup>256</sup> Cf. Bengtson 226–8; a list of epistrategoi will be found on pp. 120–2.

<sup>257</sup> See Van 't Dack 1952, 443, who considers him a strategos of the Thebaid because of his relatively high court rank and military connections.



|         |               |                                                    |
|---------|---------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| Boethos | 149–35        | See pp. 91–3                                       |
| Paos    | 131–30        | See pp. 94–5                                       |
| Lochos  | c. 127–4      | See pp. 115–16                                     |
| Platon  | 101 (–88??)   | Uncertain, see pp. 117–18                          |
| Ptolion | probably 96/5 | Uncertain; P. Lips. 104 (cf. below) <sup>258</sup> |

Seven instances need to be considered.

(1) *Hippalos* and *Daimachos*. We have seen above that Daimachos may well have been strategos of the Thebaid in 181–78/7. If Hippalos was epistrategos from the ending of the great Thebaid revolt in 186 or thereabouts, as is often supposed<sup>259</sup>, the two overlapped. But the position held by Daimachos is not known beyond doubt and the only time when Hippalos is known for certain to have been epistrategos is 176/5.

(2) *Hippalos* and *Theomnestos*. There is to my mind no doubt that Theomnestos was strategos of the Thebaid in 173<sup>260</sup>. He may therefore very well have held office when Hippalos was epistrategos. But as just pointed out, we cannot be certain that Hippalos still held this post in 173.

(3) *Hippalos* and *Noumenios*<sup>261</sup>. Noumenios was strategos of the Thebaid in 171/70 and seemingly as early as 173<sup>262</sup>. Exactly the same argument applies to a possible overlap between him and Hippalos as for Theomnestos<sup>263</sup>.

(4) (*Timar*)*chos* and *Lochos*<sup>264</sup>. The dating suggested for both is only approximate but could well mean an overlap. Lochos is firmly connected with the recapture of Alexandria by Euergetes II, and if he was strategos of the Thebaid at the time he must have been in office by at least 127<sup>265</sup>. Timarchos was probably epistrategos at the time of the struggle between Euergetes II and Kleopatra II and very possibly during the recovery of

<sup>258</sup> Possibly Apoll[ of SB 1557 should be added, but the date (first half second cent.?) is too vague to be of interest here (cf. Van 't Dack 1952, 443).

<sup>259</sup> See pp. 88–9.

<sup>260</sup> See pp. 113–14.

<sup>261</sup> I discount the possibility that Theomnestos was epistrategos in 171/70 when Noumenios was strategos of the Thebaid, for which see below, pp. 113–14.

<sup>262</sup> See pp. 113–14.

<sup>263</sup> Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* v (1948) 49ff., asserts that such an overlap took place.

<sup>264</sup> I omit P. Ryl. 66 intr. where both Boethos and Paos occur, the latter with the title στρατηγός, as the date (137/6) is before Boethos is known as epistrategos.

<sup>265</sup> See pp. 115–16.

Alexandria<sup>266</sup>. There is therefore a *prima facie* case for the two offices being held by different persons and it is unfortunate that the evidence does not enable us to be more precise<sup>267</sup>.

(5) *Demetrios* and *Hermias*. We know for certain that Demetrios as epistrategos and Hermias as strategos were in office at the same time in 117<sup>268</sup>. In the relevant text Demetrios is not said to be strategos of the Thebaid as well. If Hermias held this post we have an example of an overlap such as we are looking for. However, we have already seen good reason to reject the possibility that Hermias was other than a 'lesser' strategos<sup>269</sup>.

(6) *Ptolemaios* and *Ptolion*. In 95/4 Ptolemaios was hypomnematographos and epistrategos but is not said to have been strategos of the Thebaid as well. In a year 19 we hear of a certain Ptolion, obviously a person of influence in the Thebaid, who has the rank of στρατηγός<sup>270</sup>. If we are to see here a case of different persons holding the posts of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid at the same time, we must believe both that year 19 is 96/5 and that Ptolion is strategos of the Thebaid. Both are possible but neither necessary. The date would seem to depend on palaeographical considerations<sup>271</sup> and there is no context to indicate what sort of a strategos Ptolion was<sup>272</sup>.

(7) *Hierax* and *Platon*. In P. Bouriant 12 of 88, i. e. the time of Soter II's return from exile, Platon mentions in a letter to the authorities at Pathyris the imminent arrival of a certain Hierax, who is in charge of a military force. It has been suggested that Hierax was epistrategos, which is by no means impossible<sup>273</sup>. A papyrus of the year 101 and an undated ostrakon refer to a Platon who is a strategos in the Thebaid and who has military authority.

<sup>266</sup> See pp. 97–8.

<sup>267</sup> Cf. also my remarks Chapter 4 n. 80.

<sup>268</sup> UPZ 162; see col. ii 35ff.

<sup>269</sup> See pp. 40–1.

<sup>270</sup> See Berichtigungsliste I ad P. Lips. 104.

<sup>271</sup> It is presumably because the text is said to be second/first century on palaeographical grounds that year 19 is thought to be 96/5. I do not believe this is a strong enough argument to rule out at any rate 63/2. If the latter is the right date and if Ptolion was in office when Kallimachos was epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid he cannot have been strategos of the Thebaid.

<sup>272</sup> PP I 201 classes him (doubtfully) with strategoi of the Thebaid. Cf. Van 't Dack 1952, 444, who quotes also a suggestion by Oertel that he may have been a military strategos. This is certainly possible, though I do not see anything in the context which entails such a deduction.

<sup>273</sup> Martin 56 n. 2; see p. 119 below.

He may well therefore have been strategos of the Thebaid<sup>274</sup>. If the Platon who wrote the letter quoted above in 88 (and several others in the same year) is to be identified with Platon the strategos of 101<sup>275</sup>, we have the overlap we are looking for. However, this identification seems to me highly dubious<sup>276</sup>. Alternatively, even if the two men are not the same Platon, the Platon we meet in 88 is undoubtedly a military commander and might therefore still be strategos of the Thebaid. Against this are the possibilities that he could be an extraordinary military commander dealing with the serious revolt in the Thebaid at the time<sup>277</sup>, or he may, I believe, have been an epistrategos<sup>278</sup>. In brief, there are too many hypotheses in this example for us to place any confidence in it for our present purposes<sup>279</sup>.

The above survey will have demonstrated that there is *no* unequivocal example in the evidence which we at present possess to prove that the positions of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid could be held by different persons at the same time. One could therefore continue to believe, with Martin, that such a case is impossible<sup>280</sup>. But it is undeniable that some of the instances reviewed look persuasive, especially those involving Hippalos, and I should myself accept that the two posts were distinct, at any rate initially, and so could be held by different persons<sup>281</sup>.

(d) The creation of the posts of epistrategos and of strategos of the Thebaid

It is convenient to examine the question of the creation of the post of epistrategos here because I believe it throws some light on the relationship between this post and that of strategos of the Thebaid.

The first certain example of an epistrategos is Hippalos in 176/5<sup>282</sup>. There are however grounds for thinking that he had been epistrategos since 185<sup>283</sup>. Martin argued at length that he was the first holder of the

<sup>274</sup> P. Adler G. 10 and W.O. 1535.

<sup>275</sup> So e. g. Van 't Dack 1949, 14f., Bengtson 228.

<sup>276</sup> See pp. 117–18.

<sup>277</sup> Suggested by Oertel apud Van 't Dack 1952, 444.

<sup>278</sup> See below, p. 118.

<sup>279</sup> R. Mond and O. Myers, *The Bucheum II* (1934), p. 68, publish a demotic text in which a certain Menkere appears as strategos. The editors suggest that he was epistrategos/strategos of the Thebaid, but as the text must date from 61–54 this is impossible; Kallimachos was epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid for the whole of this period. Cf. also Van 't Dack 1949, 21f.

<sup>280</sup> Martin (esp.) 25 n. 1.

<sup>281</sup> Further implications of this will be worked out below, pp. 53–4, 80ff.

<sup>282</sup> P. Tebt. 895.

<sup>283</sup> See pp. 88–90.

newly created post, set up after the ending of the twenty-year long revolt in the Thebaid in 186<sup>284</sup>. His view has found wide acceptance<sup>285</sup>. In one respect it needs modification. Martin believed that the epistrategos was a 'gouverneur militaire' in Upper Egypt<sup>286</sup>, but it has been demonstrated above that Hippalos was not a governor solely of the Thebaid but exercised his authority throughout the chora<sup>287</sup>. His appointment therefore cannot have been connected solely with the pacification of the Thebaid, as Martin believed, but must relate more generally to widespread unrest in the whole chora. Evidence for such unrest is in fact not lacking<sup>288</sup>. But was Hippalos the first holder of the post? For an answer in the affirmative we depend on little more than an *argumentum e silentio*. However, our sources for a large part of the third century are very full and one might reasonably expect to hear of an epistrategos of the chora if one existed, and until the last decade or so of the century Egypt seems to have been peaceful, thus there would have been no need for a post such as that which Hippalos seems to have filled. Furthermore the language used in UPZ 110 of the job Hippalos performed suits a newly created, extraordinary post<sup>289</sup>. Although it would be surprising if evidence should one day turn up of a third-century epistrategos, it would not be nearly so surprising if we should hear of a predecessor of Hippalos in the first few years of the second century<sup>290</sup>. If Hippalos was the first epistrategos and took up his appointment in 185, it is worth stressing that revolts in Egypt had by now been crushed; thus the epistrategos was not created for the purpose of putting down revolts, but rather to take the necessary measures for setting Egypt on its feet again and restoring the country after the troubles it had gone through.

It is rather harder to establish the date at which the strategos of the Thebaid was created<sup>291</sup>. The first examples which I should regard as

<sup>284</sup> Martin 3–11; so already P. M. Meyer, *Das Heerwesen* (1900) 59 (but without argument).

<sup>285</sup> Especially by Bevan 281, SEHHW II 717, Bengtson 121–3, cf. Van 't Dack 1952, 441.

<sup>286</sup> Martin 3.

<sup>287</sup> Pp. 26–8.

<sup>288</sup> Cf. SEHHW II 709–11, 718f., and Van 't Dack 1952, 438ff. (who refers especially to Reekmans, CE xxiv (1949) 324–42, on the general inflation at this time).

<sup>289</sup> See lines 164ff. Henne, REA xxxvii (1935) 22 n. 2, suggests there may have been a general reform of the administration under Epiphanes.

<sup>290</sup> See the tentative suggestions for epistrategoi who preceded Hippalos discussed on pp. 112–13. Cf. Van 't Dack 1952, 440f. and Peremans–Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 23–6.

<sup>291</sup> The question is argued at length by Bengtson 95–9.

certain belong in the Siut archive of 173–70<sup>292</sup>. As suggested above<sup>293</sup>, I think it probable that Daimachos held this post in 181–78. His low court rank of *διάδοχος* is not a fatal objection. Hippalos as epistrategos is τῶν πρώτων φίλων in 176/5, but was earlier in the lower rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, when he may very well have been epistrategos<sup>294</sup>. Noumenios when strategos of the Thebaid in 171/70 is two grades higher than Daimachos, namely ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ<sup>295</sup>, but it would be in no way suprising if the court rank to which the post of strategos of the Thebaid belonged was upgraded in the 170 s<sup>296</sup>.

The argument from silence was used to suggest that there was no epistrategos of the chora in the third century. This argument is much less cogent in the case of the strategos of the Thebaid, as very few of our third-century papyri come from the Thebaid and those which do are mainly legal contracts in which a strategos of the Thebaid can hardly be expected to appear. Two arguments suggest to me that the Thebaid had a single strategos as its governor in the third century. (1) The papyrus of the Revenue Laws treats the Thebaid as a unity on a par with nomes in the rest of Egypt<sup>297</sup>, and in several respects the administration of the area in the second century corresponded with the organisation of a single nome in Middle and Lower Egypt<sup>298</sup>. Certainly by this date it had one royal scribe for the whole region and one general financial official with the title ἐπὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Θηβαΐδα<sup>299</sup>. Furthermore a single royal scribe for the Thebaid may have

<sup>292</sup> Theomnestos (BM eg. 10591 recto i 23, iii 7 and 12–13, iv 22, ix 16 and verso iv 2) and Noumenios (ibid. recto ii 3–4, iii 21 and verso iii 3–4); in both cases this seems to me the only possible meaning for ‘strategos of the nome of Ne’, cf. below, pp. 113–14. The first Greek example is in P. Lond. 610 of 149 (Boethos; see Skeat, cited in n. 240).

<sup>293</sup> P. 35.

<sup>294</sup> P. Lond. 610, at an unknown date but necessarily prior to 176/5; cf. p. 89 (but note that the reading is uncertain: Chap. 4 n. 15).

<sup>295</sup> See p. 43.

<sup>296</sup> Cf. the case of Hippalos just cited for a possible upgrading of the post of epistrategos at this time.

<sup>297</sup> P. Rev. (SB Bh. 1), col. xxxi 14 (cf. lxxii 18), of 259/8. The Thebaid did of course contain nomes in the third century (cf. Jones, op. cit. (n. 2) 300f.), but there is no evidence that at this time they were separately administered. I am not impressed by the argument (see Martin 30 and cf. Bouché-Leclercq, III 128f.) that the Revenue Papyrus does not enumerate nomes for the Thebaid because the copy we have was destined for Middle Egypt. In that case why give the nomes of the Delta?

<sup>298</sup> Note especially the presence (and there only) of epistatai in charge of a nome. The parallelism between the administration of the Thebaid as a whole and that of a single nome elsewhere in Egypt is brought out by Van ’t Dack 1949, esp. 42ff.

<sup>299</sup> SB 9367 (163), BGU 992 (162), P. Haun. 11 (158) (on which cf. P. R. Swarney, *The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos* (1970), 10ff.).

existed in the third century<sup>300</sup>, as did almost certainly a single dioiketes and perhaps a banker<sup>301</sup>. If the administration was centralised in these respects in the third century, there is every likelihood that there was a single strategos for the region at this time<sup>302</sup>. (2) SB 9302 is an enteuxis from Edfu which asks for action to be taken through the strategos to improve agricultural conditions<sup>303</sup>. It is placed in the late third century by its editor<sup>304</sup>, a date which seems to me likely to be right<sup>305</sup>. At this time the strategos cannot have been a nome strategos of the ordinary type as these did not yet exist in the Thebaid<sup>306</sup>, nor does it seem likely that he was a strategos in charge of several nomes as these too are not certainly attested before the 130 s<sup>307</sup>. The only possibility remaining (since he is certainly not a military strategos) is that he was strategos of the Thebaid<sup>308</sup>. These considerations lead me to conclude that Bengtson was right in holding that the office of strategos of the Thebaid already existed in the third century. If so it is natural to suppose that when the government saw fit to create a civil strategos at the

<sup>300</sup> So Henne, REA xxxvii (1935) 23, with reference to SB 7403.20 (Euergetes I): βα(σιλικόν) γραμματέα τῆ[ς] Θηβαίδος? (cf. Bengtson 99 n. 4).

<sup>301</sup> SB 7377 has a διοικητῆς τῆς Θηβαίδος καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν προσκυρόντων τόπων. The papyrus can only be dated on palaeographical grounds, cf. Wilcken in Archiv Pap. vi (1920) 30, who puts it late third century. A τραπεζίτης of the Thebaid is attested later, in 130, by UPZ 201.

<sup>302</sup> So already Kenyon, ad P. Lond. 401; denied by Martin 30f., wrongly I think. Cf. Bevan 142, Bengtson, loc. cit., and Van 't Dack 1952, 440.

<sup>303</sup> Originally published by Manteuffel in JJP iii (1949) 103–4 and subsequently in Tell Edfou III (1950) as P. Edfou VIII, and by R. Böhm, L' *ἐντευξις* de Varsovie (1955). It was therefore unknown to all early discussions of this problem and no doubt only became known to Bengtson (who gives it a bare mention on p. 207 n. 1) at the last moment.

<sup>304</sup> The dating depended for Manteuffel solely on palaeographical grounds and in view of the peculiar nature of the script, often verging on the epigraphic (see plate xlix in Tell Edfou III), he was very properly cautious in suggesting a late third-century date.

<sup>305</sup> Note in particular that the addressee is simply [Βασιλεῖ] Πτολεμαίωι, i. e. without mention of a consort or a cult title, cf. Collomp, Chancellerie, 99, and A. Di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* xlvii (1967) 11f.; see further on the formulae Collomp, op. cit. 113, and Di Bitonto, loc. cit. 16ff. The absence of a court rank for the strategos may also be significant.

<sup>306</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>307</sup> See pp. 41–2.

<sup>308</sup> SB 7267, which comes from the Thebaid, refers to a strategos in a letter dealing with a dispute re property. The first editor dated it 226, but a second-century date cannot be ruled out, cf. Bengtson 114 n. 1. On Lysimachos, alleged to have been a third-century strategos of the Thebaid (cf. Bouché-Leclercq, I 283) see Bengtson 222 no. 99.

head of each nome in Middle and Lower Egypt it also saw fit to create a strategos as head of the centralised administration of the Thebaid<sup>309</sup>.

#### (e) Conclusion

The above discussions suggest that the organisation of the Thebaid may have run along the following lines. In the middle of the third century, when strategoi in control of nomes in Middle and Lower Egypt were instituted, a single strategos was put in charge of the whole Thebaid. At some point in the second century, perhaps not until after the middle of the century, further strategoi were introduced in the Thebaid who had charge of several nomes. The reason may have been a growth in administrative work or the necessity for the original strategos, who from now on if not before took the title στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος, to devote more time to military duties in an unruly district. Later still, perhaps not until the first half of the first century, the organisation of the Thebaid was more or less assimilated to that prevalent elsewhere in Egypt by the introduction of strategoi who controlled a single nome<sup>310</sup>. Into this set-up was introduced in the reign of Epiphanes an epistrategos who controlled the whole chora.

We have seen that the answer to the question whether one could be epistrategos without at the same time being strategos of the Thebaid is almost certainly yes. I have no doubt whatsoever that we must give the same answer to the converse, i. e. whether one could be strategos of the Thebaid without being simultaneously epistrategos<sup>311</sup>. It is true that of the officials listed as strategoi of the Thebaid on pp. 46–7 two, namely Boethos and Paos, are also known to have been epistrategoi. But in both cases they hold the post of epistrategos at the end of their careers and there is no objection to the explanation that they were promoted to fill this office after they had for a time held that of strategos of the Thebaid alone<sup>312</sup>. The case of Paos indeed is significant. Boethos is known as epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid as late as 134; Paos is known first as strategos of the Thebaid in 131, but by 129 has become epistrategos as well<sup>313</sup>. We must surely

<sup>309</sup> Bengtson 32–5 dates this about 229, but the evidence of P. Hibeh 198.242f. suggests that it happened somewhat earlier, at least by 243 (for the date of this text see Bagnall, *BASP* vi (1969) 75–7). And there may well have been a military strategos for the Thebaid from an earlier date, as there seems to have been for the nomes of the rest of Egypt, cf. Bengtson 95ff.

<sup>310</sup> This is argued in Appendix 3.

<sup>311</sup> Even Martin 29f. is prepared (somewhat reluctantly) to allow that this could happen.

<sup>312</sup> See below, p. 93 and p. 95.

<sup>313</sup> See pp. 94–5.

conclude from this that Paos was first of all appointed as Boethos' replacement in the post of strategos of the Thebaid only, not becoming epistrategos as well until a slightly later date. Therefore for a short period around the year 131 the post of epistrategos was left unfilled, and so even as late as this it must have been still extraordinary. This suggests a marked distinction between the post of epistrategos and that of strategos of the Thebaid. For, if the above picture is accurate, the latter post was always filled and formed a regular feature of the Ptolemaic administration<sup>314</sup>. On the other hand the post of epistrategos was at first certainly an extraordinary appointment and indeed may not have been filled at all between Hippalos and Boethos, that is for at least thirty years<sup>315</sup>. Furthermore, if we are right in assimilating the strategos of the Thebaid in his original form to the ordinary nome strategoi elsewhere in Egypt, it is most likely that like them he soon lost his military powers. It is not until Paos in 130 that we find a strategos of the Thebaid exercising any military function<sup>316</sup>. It may well be, therefore, that his power in this sphere was only acquired later, sometime in the middle of the second century, and no doubt as a direct consequence of the continuous unrest then prevalent in the Thebaid<sup>317</sup>; whereas the epistrategos was presumably always an official with both military and civil authority. From these points I should draw the conclusion that the posts of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid were, at any rate initially, *fundamentally different*, that this difference persisted for at least the greater part of the second century, and that it may never in theory have disappeared.

At a later stage the practical relationship between the posts may well have altered and the close connection between most epistrategoi and the Thebaid will need further examination<sup>318</sup>. However, it is unprofitable to attempt to discuss these points further, and so to seek to find out the essential nature of the office and the power which the epistrategos possessed, until we have looked at the duties he is known to have performed. This is the task of the next chapter.

<sup>314</sup> It may have been allowed to lapse during the great twenty-year long revolt of the Thebaid, 206–186; so Bengtson 122. Cf. Alliot, *Rev. belge de phil. et d'hist.* xxix (1951) 442, who speaks of the transformation of the functions of the strategos of the Thebaid into those of the epistrategos at the end of the great Thebaid revolt in 186.

<sup>315</sup> For what it is worth there is negative evidence to support this. See pp. 81–2.

<sup>316</sup> See pp. 58–9.

<sup>317</sup> Bengtson 104 thinks on the contrary that the strategos of the Thebaid always had military authority, having retained it when the ordinary nome strategos lost it. This seems to me less likely. The introduction of 'lesser' strategoi may have been directly connected with the assumption of military powers by the strategos of the Thebaid, cf. the previous paragraph in the text.

<sup>318</sup> See pp. 80 ff.



## Chapter 2

### The duties of the epistrategos

In contexts which are of value for establishing what his duties were the epistrategos nearly always has the title ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος, hardly ever that of ἐπιστράτηγος alone. If we must suppose that whenever he has the former title he acts in his capacity as strategos of the Thebaid, we are left with very little evidence for the duties he performs in his capacity as epistrategos<sup>1</sup>. Clearly we must at some point seek to establish as far as we can which functions these officials perform by virtue of their office as epistrategos. Nevertheless such nice distinctions are hardly likely to have troubled the Ptolemaic administration or its subjects, who would naturally have been liable to refer to the holder of the posts of ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος as ἐπιστράτηγος for brevity<sup>2</sup>, and it will be of interest for comparison with the Roman epistrategos to form as full a picture as possible of his Ptolemaic predecessor. Therefore I propose to examine in this chapter all functions known to have been performed by officials bearing the title ἐπιστράτηγος, whether by itself or in combination with other titles. However, I shall also indicate those functions performed by officials holding the office of strategos of the Thebaid only, so that we may attempt in the next chapter to establish what real power the epistrategos qua epistrategos possessed.

#### 1. *Military*<sup>3</sup>

Right from the start of his book Martin speaks of the epistrategos as a ‘gouverneur militaire’<sup>4</sup> and this view of the office colours his account

<sup>1</sup> This is the line taken by Bengtson, cf. esp. p. 125, who confines himself almost entirely to Hippalos (cf. also Handrock, *Dienstliche Weisung* 82). There has thus been no examination of the functions of epistrategoi since Martin wrote.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, pp. 78–9.

<sup>3</sup> See Martin 41–58.

<sup>4</sup> Martin 3.

throughout<sup>5</sup>. It is a view, moreover, which has been generally accepted<sup>6</sup>. In fact evidence proving that epistrategoi had military powers is not abundant<sup>7</sup>. In 134 we have a record of money and provisions being authorised for troops accompanying Boethos<sup>8</sup>; and about the same time a receipt relating to hay for cavalry which is part of the same force<sup>9</sup>. A preliminary hearing of a court case takes place before ἡγεμόνες of Boethos, clearly military officials who are his subordinates<sup>10</sup>. In the sole document in which Paos appears as epistrategos he is in charge of a στρατόπεδον and authorises the despatch of troops to deal with trouble in the Panopolite<sup>11</sup>. Indicative of a general military competence is an inscription from Philai recording a dedication to Pan by Demetrios, as epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid, and αἱ ἐν Πτολεμαίδι τεταγμέν[ναι] δυνάμεις πε[ζ]ικαὶ καὶ ἱππικαὶ καὶ ναυτικαί<sup>12</sup>. The reference to δυνάμεις ναυτικαί reminds us of the position of ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης held by Kallimachos in the first century<sup>13</sup>.

Also relevant are certain instances of eponymous commanders. An up-to-date study of this phenomenon does not exist<sup>14</sup>. It is clear that when parties to a contract refer to themselves as ‘men of τοῦ δεῖνος’, the name is to be considered as that of their ‘commander’. Most noteworthy is the case of Boethos: in P. Adler G. 1.8 a man describes himself as ‘of the men of Boethos’ in 134 when we know that Boethos was still in office as epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid, whereas the man using the same expression in P. Cair. Goodspeed 6 II 2 in 129 is using it after Boethos had

<sup>5</sup> On p. 41 he calls his powers ‘en première ligne militaires’ and on p. 57 his duties are ‘avant tout militaires’.

<sup>6</sup> Notably by Bengtson, see esp. pp. 127 and 147.

<sup>7</sup> Martin’s account consists almost wholly of a recital of unrest in the Thebaid. As indicated above (pp. 19–25), there is a marked lack of correspondance between occurrences of epistrategoi and periods of unrest in the chora, so this certainly does not support his view of the overriding importance of the epistrategos’ military functions.

<sup>8</sup> UPZ 204; see Wilcken’s note on the size of the force.

<sup>9</sup> UPZ 210.

<sup>10</sup> SB 4512, see esp. ll. 36–7. Cf. below, n. 22, on a possible reference to a ἡγεμών of Hippias.

<sup>11</sup> UPZ 209.2–9: [το]ῖ[ς] ἀπε[σταλμ]ένοις . . . . εἰς τὸν Πανοπο[λίτη]ν κατὰ παράγγελμα ἐκ τοῦ [Παῶ]τος τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ ἐπι[στρατ]ήγου καὶ στρατηγοῦ τῆς [Θηβα]ίδος στρατοπέδου μισ[θοφόρ]οις.

<sup>12</sup> Inscr. Phil. 20, cf. Martin 54.

<sup>13</sup> Evidence in the list, pp. 121–2; see on the office pp. 71–2.

<sup>14</sup> The basic discussion is still that by J. Lesquier, *Les institutions militaires sous les Lagides* (1911) 77–82; cf. Bengtson 25, F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens* (1968) 135 n. 3 and 309 n. 5, P. Yale 27 intr., Pestman, *P. L. Bat. xiv* (1965) 50 n. 21, and Bagnall, *BASP vi* (1969) 79–81. The commanders are listed in PP II 1825–2035.

relinquished these posts<sup>15</sup>. Bengtson deduces from this that 'die Eponymenstellung unabhängig von der Strategie gewesen ist'<sup>16</sup>. But since we know from the texts cited above that Boethos while epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid did have command of troops, this seems to me an unlikely conclusion. I should conclude rather that an eponymous commander could be referred to while still on active service or after he had relinquished his command<sup>17</sup>. The latter is the usual situation. Normally eponymous commanders are mentioned by farmers and the like who are no longer on active service (there is no doubt a connection with the cleruchic system), and it follows that there is no guarantee that the place at which a commander is mentioned was a place in which he ever had military authority<sup>18</sup>. It may also follow that these 'commanders' were not necessarily military at all<sup>19</sup>.

Apart from Boethos, to whom we have already referred<sup>20</sup>, there are two references to an eponymous commander named Hippalos. We need not hesitate to identify the reference in about 173 with the epistrategos of that name (whether or not he was still in office at the time)<sup>21</sup>. More questionable is a later reference in 158, but despite the lapse of time I should be inclined to connect it with the same man<sup>22</sup>. Various references to an eponymous Demetrios may or may not refer to the epistrategos of this name; in no case is it probable, for chronological reasons<sup>23</sup>. Peremans and Van 't Dack class Hierax in P. Bouriant 12 with this group<sup>24</sup>, but he is certainly not there an eponymous commander of the type which we are here considering<sup>25</sup>.

There is evidence at various times for troops and troop movements in the Thebaid, and there can be no doubt that the Ptolemies would have

<sup>15</sup> Cf. PP II, pp. xxxii–xxxiii.

<sup>16</sup> Bengtson 109, followed by Pestman, loc. cit.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Peremans–Van 't Dack, Stud. Hell. ix (1953) 43. I am doubtful of the suggestion in P. Tebt. 853.17 n. that reference is *never* made in this way to commanders still on active service.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. PP II p. xxix.

<sup>19</sup> This is suggested by Bagnall, loc. cit. in n. 14.

<sup>20</sup> Add to the two references given U. Kaplony–Heckel, P. Heid. dem. 28 (undated) (= Die demotischen Gebelen-Urkunden; Veröff. Heid. Pap.slg. n. f. 4; 1964).

<sup>21</sup> P. Tebt. 853.17. On Hippalos' dates see pp. 87–90.

<sup>22</sup> P. Haun. 11 II 7; Larsen, ad loc., doubts the identification, but it is accepted in P. Yale, p. 63. Note that in this instance reference is to one of Hippalos' officers: Ἀριστογένοῦς τῶν μεθ' Ἰππάλου ἡγεμόνων.

<sup>23</sup> On the dates of Demetrios and whether there were one or two epistrategoí of this name see pp. 101–3. References to an eponymous commander of this name are P. Tebt. 806.6 (139), P. Rein. 17.3 (109) and dem. 7 (106), and BGU 1285.3 (1st cent.).

<sup>24</sup> In PP II 1915.

<sup>25</sup> In any case, although Hierax was unquestionably a military commander, it is uncertain whether he was epistrategos, see p. 119.

found it necessary to maintain a permanent garrison on the southern frontier<sup>26</sup>. Were there in addition permanent bodies of troops elsewhere in the Thebaid? There is enough evidence to support the view that there were. The inscription already referred to speaks of troops of all kinds *τεταγμέναι ἐν Πτολεμαίδι*<sup>27</sup>, and several papyri mention *ὑπαιθρα* in the Thebaid, which look like allusions to garrisons of a permanent nature<sup>28</sup>. This is important, for it implies that the Thebaid had a permanent official to take charge of these troops, and who better to fill the bill than the strategos of the Thebaid? There is, however, an obvious attraction in believing that the difference between the offices of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid was that the former had military power and the latter civil power only. We need therefore to scrutinise what evidence there is that the strategos of the Thebaid had military authority.

Since it is universally assumed that he did have such authority<sup>29</sup>, the evidence for it turns out to be rather flimsier than one might have supposed. Instances of Boethos and possibly Demetrios appearing as eponymous commanders, which were cited above, can be ignored, since they could be referring to these officials in their capacity as epistrategoi. The same cannot be said of similar occurrences of Lochos, since we have no proof that he ever became epistrategos<sup>30</sup>. His command of troops may, however, have been solely at the time of the recovery of Alexandria by Euergetes II, in which he was certainly active, and we do not know whether he is to be reckoned a strategos of the Thebaid at this time<sup>31</sup>. Less dubious is the evidence for Paos. In OGIS 132 he sends a subordinate to look after the road across the desert to Koptos<sup>32</sup>; here he seems to be exercising something more than the police powers which an ordinary nome strategos would

<sup>26</sup> The various phrourarchs of Philai (see PP II 2053–4, 2062 and 2066) are sufficient proof of this.

<sup>27</sup> Inscr. Phil. 20 (probably c. 117).

<sup>28</sup> On the meaning of *ὑπαιθρον* (not satisfactorily explained in LSJ) see Zucker, *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. klasse* 6 (1937) 26f., and Bengtson 108–9, cf. Pestman, loc. cit. (n. 14) 49f. References are P. Grenf. I 42.3, P. Amh. 36.7f., P. Adler dem. 2.4 and P. Heid. dem. 30 (U. Kaplony-Heckel, op. cit. in n. 20); note esp. for the implied permanent nature of a *ὑπαιθρον* P. Amh. 36. 7ff.: ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Πτολεμαίδι ὑπαιθρου νυνὶ δὲ παρεφεδρεύοντος ἐν Διοσπόλει τῇ μικρᾷ.

<sup>29</sup> See esp. Bengtson 104–10; cf. Martin 26f.

<sup>30</sup> P. Adler dem. 2.4, P. Ryl. dem. xvii (p. 143), xx (p. 149), and P. Ross. Georg. II 6.34f.; cf. Peremans–Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 43f. Noumenios too, eponymous in P. Tebt 811.14, is presumably the strategos of the Thebaid of that name.

<sup>31</sup> See p. 116. It might be argued as an alternative that he was a peculiar strategos of the Thebaid, witness the epithet *αὐτοκράτωρ* which is applied to him in certain inscriptions, but I am sceptical of this, see pp. 115–16.

<sup>32</sup> See lines 7–12.

have, something much more akin to military power. In two papyri he is certainly to be found in a military capacity: in the first he refers to receipt of a petition from troops for pay and gives authority to the thebarch for it to be advanced<sup>33</sup>; in the second he is involved in recruiting<sup>34</sup>. In both these texts his title is merely στρατηγός and both are earlier than the first datable reference to him as strategos of the Thebaid<sup>35</sup>; but there can hardly be any doubt that it was this post which he held. Finally, we know for certain that Platon had military power at the very end of the second century when he is found in charge of a παράγγελμα (body of troops)<sup>36</sup>. In his case, however, we cannot rule out the possibility that he was a purely military strategos, not strategos of the Thebaid<sup>37</sup>.

This survey suggests that we must accept that the strategos of the Thebaid had military power, at any rate by the last third of the second century<sup>38</sup>. Can we accept the converse of the argument advanced above, namely that strategoi of the Thebaid had military power but epistrategoi were purely civil (like their Roman counterparts)? If we deny that the Hippalos who has a ἡγεμών as subordinate in 158 is the epistrategos of that name<sup>39</sup>, and if we refuse to accept that his appearance as eponymous commander in 173 is proof that he ever had military authority<sup>40</sup>, there remains no clear evidence that an epistrategos, who was not at the same time strategos of the Thebaid, had military authority. Nevertheless I find it impossible to believe that a post created at the beginning of the second century would have been called ἐπιστράτηγος unless its holder was considered, initially at least, to have had some military power, and the overriding authority of Hippalos also seems to entail this conclusion<sup>41</sup>. I should therefore accept that military authority belonged both to epistrategoi and to strategoi of the Thebaid.

<sup>33</sup> UPZ 208 (31 May 130). Similarly in P. Grenf. I 42 troops petition a στρατηγός for more pay. He must have had some military authority and I should class him as a strategos of the Thebaid. On the date of this text see Chap. 1 n. 242.

<sup>34</sup> UPZ 215 (22 March 130).

<sup>35</sup> 4 October 130 in OGIS 132. He also appears as a military commander in January 130 (W. Chr. 10), but here he is not given an official title.

<sup>36</sup> W.O. 1535; on the date and reading see p. 117.

<sup>37</sup> See pp. 117–18.

<sup>38</sup> Though not necessarily earlier, see p. 54.

<sup>39</sup> See above, p. 57.

<sup>40</sup> Cf. above, p. 57 and the reference there to Bagnall's article.

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Bengtson 127.

## 2. *Civil*

### (a) General

A priori one might expect the epistrategos to reside at the unofficial capital of the chora, Ptolemais<sup>42</sup>. There is little doubt that this is true of some, perhaps all, holders of the post<sup>43</sup>. Kallimachos is in one inscription called ἀρχιπρύτανις καὶ γυμνασίαρχος<sup>44</sup>; though there may have been several places in the chora with gymnasia<sup>45</sup>, he cannot have held the former office anywhere but at Ptolemais. Note too that he dedicated a shrine to Isis there<sup>46</sup>. Over a hundred years earlier Hippalos is known to have held the eponymous priesthood at Ptolemais for fifteen years<sup>47</sup>, and Boethos may have been a citizen<sup>48</sup>.

Must we go on to suppose that the government through the epistrategos interfered directly in the internal affairs of a nominally independent Greek city<sup>49</sup>? There can be no doubt that Kallimachos, and presumably other epistrategoi, would de facto have been able to exercise considerable influence in his home city, of which he was one of the most important citizens, by virtue of holding one of the top three or four jobs in the state. But that is not to say that he was interfering in the city's affairs as a government agent, much less that he was acting in his capacity as epistrategos. Even at its widest extent under Hippalos the authority of the epistrategos was limited to the chora, and this must surely have excluded Ptolemais as it did Alexandria. Nor is the epistrategos even the king's liaison officer for dealings with

<sup>42</sup> On the position of Ptolemais see above all G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten* (1910), *passim*, esp. 25ff.; cf. the recent article in Russian by Ahne, *VDI cxi* (1970) 19–31 (English summary on p. 31), and A. H. M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup> (1971) 305.

<sup>43</sup> It is asserted of epistrategoi in general by Martin 61 and Wilcken ad UPZ 162 I 17, but cf. Van 't Dack 1952, 441. I think we should be wary of insisting on this for the three holders of the post (Apollodoros, Ptolemais and Hephaistion – references in the list) who are known to have also held posts in the central government.

<sup>44</sup> SB 2264.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Jones, *op. cit.* 475 n. 14. Thebes is an obvious example.

<sup>46</sup> SB 3926. 11ff.

<sup>47</sup> Attested from 186/5 to 170/69 (though not in every year), see Chap. 4, n. 7.

<sup>48</sup> See p. 94. Plaumann, *Ptolemais*, 28, cf. 32f., suggested restoring γραμματεὺς τῇ[ς βουλῆς] in Inscr. Phil. 20.4, and regarding Demetrios as scribe of the council at Ptolemais; I doubt this, see p. 103.

<sup>49</sup> Such interference, because of the position of Kallimachos, is supposed by Martin 71f., Wilcken Gr. 17f., G. Semeka, *Ptolemäisches Prozeßrecht* (1913) 58f., and Ahne, *loc. cit.*; cf. Bevan 106. On the other hand Plaumann, *op. cit.* 38, and Bengtson 125 both stress that the Greek city was exempt from the epistrategos' control.

Ptolemais: in giving his permission for a sanctuary at Ptolemais founded by Kallimachos to have immunity, the king writes not through Kallimachos the epistrategos, but through a certain Theon<sup>50</sup>. I conclude that the likelihood is against the epistrategos having had any power within the Greek city.

The hierarchical position of the epistrategos and his relationship to the officials of the central administration will be considered in the next chapter. His wide reaching powers and general oversight over officials in the chora is plainly indicated in the case of Hippalos, where we find him controlling the land economy and issuing instructions to all στρατηγοὶ καὶ λαοί<sup>51</sup>. Less official, indeed possibly illegal, is the σκέπη Hippalos is shown to have used to protect peasants<sup>52</sup>. Such general control, at any rate within the Thebaid, is implied for the epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid in OGIS 168. His superiority to the nome epistates is specifically indicated by UPZ 191 and 193, and his superiority to the nome strategos may be deduced with some confidence from SB 4638<sup>53</sup>. Inscr. Phil. 19, however, which indicates the general authority over subordinate officials possessed by Lochos as strategos of the Thebaid, suggests that this power could have been exercised in his capacity as strategos of the Thebaid and not necessarily as epistrategos<sup>54</sup>. More significant perhaps are the indications that he had some control over the royal granaries<sup>55</sup>, and that sitologoi and oikonomoi were among the officials who came under his authority<sup>56</sup>. He seems here to be impinging on the territory of the dioiketes and exercising control

<sup>50</sup> SB 3926, note esp. l. 1.

<sup>51</sup> UPZ 110. 164ff. (quoted Chap. 1, n. 119); cf. esp. SEHHW II 717f. It makes little or no difference to the powerful position Hippalos held whether we consider that he exercised merely 'moral persuasion' or was acting to enforce a law authorising 'Zwangspacht'; on this point see G. Poethke, *Epimerismos* (Pap. Brux. 8; 1969) 30f.

<sup>52</sup> P. Tebt. 750; a sitologos seems to indicate that two men are excused from the obligation to supply animals because they are ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰππάλου σκέπη[ν]. Such σκέπη is widely attested in the papyri and is nearly always used in a bad sense of illegal protection; see the bibliography cited in PSI 1313.5 n. to which Piatkowska, *Eos* liv (1964) 239–44, is to be added.

<sup>53</sup> See Chap. 1 pp. 38–9 where it is argued that Santobithys is here the nome strategos, receiving instructions from Boethos, epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid. Cf. also SB 4512, which implies the superiority of Boethos to the strategos mentioned there in l. 52.

<sup>54</sup> The parallelism of Inscr. Phil. 19 and OGIS 168 is alluded to by Martin 60.

<sup>55</sup> Implied by OGIS 168.20ff., cf. Martin 59.

<sup>56</sup> A sitologos comes into the affair of which complaint is directed to the epistrategos in P. Tebt. 895. In UPZ 191–3 priests complain that they have suffered from exactions made by an oikonomos and ask the epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid to put a stop to it.

over officials who might not have been subordinates of the ordinary nome strategos.

A γραμματεὺς is attested as a member of his bureau<sup>57</sup>. It is no doubt minor officials of this kind who are referred to as οἱ παρὰ Δημητρίου elsewhere; certainly there is no need to regard them as military<sup>58</sup>. On the other hand the ἡγεμόνες who conduct the preliminaries to a court case for Boethos, must be military subordinates<sup>59</sup>.

As we should expect of an official with general responsibilities in a wide area, the epistrategos was in the habit of making official visits to various places within his sphere of control. Thus we find Hippalos downstream from the Fayum<sup>60</sup>, and Demetrios is twice spoken of as paying a visit to Thebes, once in Mecheir and once in Payni<sup>61</sup>. On the latter occasion he goes there for the purpose of celebrating a festival, which suggests a regular annual visit at this time. Initially, if we are right in regarding the office as extraordinary, there can have been no arrangement for regular visitations by the epistrategos to places within his control; and in so far as the office had military commitments these too must have prevented such regularity being observed<sup>62</sup>. For frequent, but perhaps irregular, visits by epistrategoi to Philai, we have the evidence preserved in their *proskynemata*<sup>63</sup>.

<sup>57</sup> Inscr. Phil. 25: Φιλόξενος γραμματεὺς Φομμοῦτος, where Phommous is no doubt the epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid of this name, cf. Chap. 4 n. 139.

<sup>58</sup> UPZ 162 II 29 and see Wilcken ad loc.

<sup>59</sup> SB 4512, P. Giss. 37.

<sup>60</sup> P. Tebt. 895.7: κ[ατ]απλεῖν [ἐ]πὶ σέ, cf. Skeat, *Archiv Pap.* xii (1936) 41.

<sup>61</sup> UPZ 162 I 16f., ἐπιβαλόντος εἰς Διὸς πόλιν τὴν Μεγάλην, and II 35–III 3, ἐν δὲ τῷ Παῦνι . . . . . ἐπιβαλόντος σου (Hermias, the nome strategos) εἰς τὴν Διὸς πόλιν σὺν τῷ Δημητρίῳ πρὸς τὴν διάβασιν τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ Ἀμμωνος; these passages effectively disprove that the epistrategos could have resided at Thebes. For a similar visit there by the strategos of the Thebaid (assuming that is the post Lochos held at the time, cf. p. 115) see UPZ 187.5ff.

<sup>62</sup> See Martin 60f. Note too the case of Hermias, who waited seven years before petitioning the epistrategos (UPZ II pp. 44f.), and which could be held to imply difficulty in getting in touch with him, e. g. because he did not visit Thebes during this period.

<sup>63</sup> Inscr. Phil. 44, 52, 53, 56 and 58 (though not all of these were made by the epistrategos in person). As Bernand remarks, Inscr. Phil. 52.12 n., Kallimachos' visit attested in this inscription belongs in the early summer, a bad month for a tourist, thus implying that he was there on business. A connection with the festival to celebrate the Nile flood, with the epistrategos acting as the king's representative, seems likely, cf. perhaps D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil* (1964), 391, and R. Merkelbach, *Isisfeste in griechisch-römischer Zeit*, *Beitr. zur klass. Phil.* 5, Meisenheim 1963, 67. The implication of Inscr. Phil. 19.22ff. is that strategoi were in the habit of going to Philai regularly.



## (b) Judicial

A great deal has been written on various aspects of 'Beamtenjustiz' and most scholars who have dealt with the subject have referred in part to the epistrategos<sup>64</sup>. It will be best to begin with a review of the evidence, which is not extensive.

In P. Tebt. 895 a komogrammateus petitions the epistrategos. It seems that he had received instructions from the nome strategos via the epistates to appear before the epistrategos in an affair concerning removal of wheat from the royal granaries, perhaps by a sitologos. Unfortunately much of this is so fragmentarily preserved that little definite can be deduced<sup>65</sup>.

There are several papyri relating to judicial action by Boethos. We may consider first four texts all concerned with the same dispute over an inheritance<sup>66</sup>. They show that there was first a preliminary hearing before ἡγεμόνες, military subordinates of the epistrategos, who give a decision<sup>67</sup>. This is no doubt of temporary validity only, pending a final decision by their chief<sup>68</sup>; for in the full report of the hearing before the epistrategos, in which a petition to him is read out, the text concludes: παρεστάθησαν Βοήθῳ, καὶ ἐκάστων αὐτῷ ὑπο[δε]δειχθέντων συνέταξεν κρατεῖν τὴν Σενενοῦπιν

<sup>64</sup> The bibliography is extensive, with relevant sections in all the following: Martin 64–7, F. Zucker, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Gerichtsorganisation (Philologus Suppl. xii (1); 1911), esp. 109 ff., G. Semeka, op. cit. (n. 49) esp. 96 ff., R. Taubenschlag, Das Strafrecht (1916), esp. 55–7, E. Berneker, Zur Geschichte der Prozesseinleitung (1930), esp. 29 ff. and 85 f., idem, Die Sondergerichtsbarkeit (Münch. Beitr. 22; 1935), esp. 64 ff., Taubenschlag, The Law of Greco-Roman Egypt<sup>2</sup> (1955) 485 ff., idem, Opera Minora II (1959) 575 ff. esp. 609–12 (= Archiv Pap. iv (1908) 26–8), E. Seidl, Ptolemäische Rechtsgeschichte<sup>2</sup> (Ägyptol. Forsch. 22, 1962), esp. 78–80, H. J. Wolff, Das Justizwesen der Ptolemäer<sup>2</sup> (Münch. Beitr. 44; 1970), chap. iv. In all the above it is relevant to consult the sections on the strategos as well as those on the epistrategos.

<sup>65</sup> Note esp. lines 4 ff., and 31 ff.; the latter read διὰ τοῦ ὑπομ[ν]ήματος γεγονέναι μοι πρὸς αὐτὸν κατάστασιν ἐπὶ Πτολεμαίου ἐν κοινῷ συνεδρίῳ[i]; it would be noteworthy for the relationship of the epistrategos with the nome strategos (cf. p. 61) if this Ptolemaios were the nome strategos, but the editors believe him to have been a different official making an ἐπιδημία in the Arsinoite nome, cf. ll. 91–3. On the content in general, apart from the editors' introduction, see Berneker, Sondergerichtsbarkeit 64 f., with the criticisms of his view by Kunkel, ZSS lvii (1937) 406 f., and Bengtson 126.

<sup>66</sup> P. Giss. 36–7 and 108, SB 4512, the last originally published with important commentary by Gradenwitz, Preisigke and Spiegelberg, Schriften d. Wiss. Gesellsch. in Straßburg, 13. Heft (1912). For two recent additions to papyri referring to this case see K. T. Zauzich, Die ägyptische Schreibertradition (Ägypt. Abh. 19; 1968), nos. 30 and 115.

<sup>67</sup> P. Giss. 108. 16 f. [μηδ] ἐνὶ ἐ[πιτ]ρέπειν εἰσβιάζεσθ[αι] εἰ[ς] τὰ σημα[ι]νόμ[ε]να [χωρία].

<sup>68</sup> Cf. Wolff, Justizwesen, 121 n. 26.

τῶν μητρικῶν<sup>69</sup>. Note that the case ends with a decision pronounced by the epistrategos, with the verb in the singular, indicating that he acts on his own and that his consilium has no share in the decision-making<sup>70</sup>; note also that the verb used is not κρίνειν<sup>71</sup>. That military subordinates should conduct a purely civil case of this kind is surprising and it has been suggested that it reflects unusual wartime circumstances<sup>72</sup>; this I should regard as unlikely<sup>73</sup>.

In a second dispute relating to an inheritance which Boethos was called upon to settle most of the details are obscure<sup>74</sup>; it is apparent that earlier action before the ἀρχιφυλακίτης had proved abortive and what the epistrategos seems to be asked to do is to ensure that the proper procedure is followed<sup>75</sup>. Boethos is also referred to in a legal suit concerning a vineyard which includes a petition addressed to Paos as strategos, but without a title and with no indication of the part he was called upon to play<sup>76</sup>. Finally he is the recipient of a petition from a soldier, which unfortunately breaks off after the complaint that the petitioner is having difficulties in travelling between Diospolis Parva and Diospolis Magna. The editors suggest this is leading up to a transfer request; if so it would be of value as a proof of the epistrategos' military jurisdiction<sup>77</sup>.

In the famous lawsuit of Hermias the epistrategos concerned is Demetrios and it is noteworthy that he here bears the title ἐπιστράτηγος without further qualification<sup>78</sup>. After trying other measures, when the epistrategos

<sup>69</sup> SB 4512.82–5.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. Wolff, *op. cit.* 152f.

<sup>71</sup> But see below, p. 66.

<sup>72</sup> See Wilcken ad UPZ 162 II 29.

<sup>73</sup> Note that in P. Lille 53 ἡγεμόνες act in concert with a strategos in what seem to be normal circumstances. On these ἡγεμόνες cf. Cohen, *op. cit.* (Chap. 1, n. 1) 36.

<sup>74</sup> SB 4638, first published by Gerhard, Sitz. Heidelberger Akad. Wiss., Phil. hist. Klasse, 1911, no. 8. The text may be related to those mentioned in n. 66, but the dispute is over different property. All are from Pathyris.

<sup>75</sup> See II. 12ff. for the earlier petition to the ἀρχιφυλακίτης in year 30 (141/40). The request to Boethos, II. 30–36, is full of lacunae and reads: [ἀξιοῦμεν] . . . . συντάξαι γράψαι [———] ὅπως μὴ περισπώμεθα ἐπὶ τὰ [———] τα κριτήρια, εἰ δέ τι οἴεται [———] ἐπὶ Σαντο]βίθους τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς διεξά[γεσθαι]. In 32–4 Wilcken, *Archiv Pap.* vi (1920) 275, suggests γράψαι [name of official προνοηθῆναι ὅπως κτλ., rejecting Gerhard's τὰ [μὴ καθήκον] τα κριτήρια as too short; cf. also Semeka, *op. cit.* (n. 49) 93ff. On Santobithys, very likely a nome strategos, see pp. 38–9.

<sup>76</sup> P. Ryl. 66 intr. On the text see Chap. 4, n. 65. There is insufficient content and too many obscurities to justify taking this text as an example of the epistrategos' jurisdiction, much less his 'Sondergerichtsbarkeit', as Berneker does (*Sondergerichtsbarkeit* 64f.).

<sup>77</sup> P. Amh. 36; cf. Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora* II 612 n. 65.

<sup>78</sup> UPZ 162 I 17. The lawsuit is contained in UPZ 160–9 and its tortuous progress is set out with great clarity by Wilcken in his general introduction to these texts.

happened to be on a visit to Thebes in 117, Hermias petitioned him for recovery of his property, which was being occupied, illegally as he alleged, by squatters, a group of choachytes. The epistrategos summoned both parties to appear before him, but instead of doing this the choachytes simply took themselves off<sup>79</sup>. Whereupon the epistrategos did not proceed to decide the case in Hermias' favour but, as he was about to leave the district, gave Hermias permission to transfer his application to the nome strategos<sup>80</sup>.

The rest of the relevant texts all relate to Phommous<sup>81</sup>. The first is a petition alleging wrongful seizure of property. What is of note is that in their request the petitioners ask not only that the abuse should stop, but that the offender should be forced to pay compensation<sup>82</sup>. The others are petitions in which priests accuse an oikonomos of wrongfully exacting taxes from persons who are exempt; in this case the request is merely that the abuse should stop<sup>83</sup>. The epistrategos accedes to this, sending his instructions direct to the nome epistates; what is interesting is that the first time he did this his action was clearly without effect, for the petitioners needed to repeat their complaint to him a year later; the second time the epistates has noted on the foot of the document that he has complied with his instructions<sup>84</sup>.

There has been much controversy on how to interpret this evidence. Most serious has been the argument as to whether the epistrategos is to be reckoned as a judge with full powers, who could pronounce sentences having equal force with those passed by the courts, or whether he was acting partly merely as an administrator, using coercive but non-judicial powers inherent in his office, and partly as an arbiter or 'Friedensrichter'<sup>85</sup>. Thus of the evidence reviewed above obviously UPZ 191 and 193 could be

<sup>79</sup> UPZ 162 II 29ff. διὰ τῶν παρὰ Δημητρίου παραγγελέντος αὐτοῖς ἔρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ κριτήριον μέχρι τοῦ τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς διεξαχθῆναι, οἱ δ' ἐκτοπίσαντες οὐκ ἀπήντησαν.

<sup>80</sup> UPZ 162 II 31ff.

<sup>81</sup> P. Strasb. 98 mentions an epistrategos in a petition to the sovereigns, but without context.

<sup>82</sup> P. Lond. 401; see esp. ll. 25ff. ἀξιούμεν . . . . ἐπισκέψασθαι καὶ ἐὰν ᾖ ἡ γράφομεν ἐπαναγκάσαι ἐκστῆναι τοῦ διασαφουμένου ἡμῖν μέρους (ἡμῖσους) τοῦ ἐδάφους . . . . καὶ ἐκτεῖ[σ]αι ἃ ἀπενήνεκται ἐξ αὐτῶν γενήματα, περὶ δὲ ἧς πεπότη[τα] βίας, διαλαβεῖν μισοπονῆτως.

<sup>83</sup> UPZ 191 esp. ll. 11ff. ἀξιούμεν . . . . συντάξαι γράψαι οἷς καθήκει μηθὲν ἡμᾶς πράσσειν μηδὲ παρενοχλεῖν.

<sup>84</sup> UPZ 193; on the relation between the texts see Wilcken's introduction.

<sup>85</sup> The refusal to admit that the epistrategos was a 'wirklich Richter' is to be found notably in Martin 65ff. and Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora* II 609–12, and Law<sup>2</sup> 485; also A. Bouché-Leclercq, IV 232f., and Wilcken, UPZ II p. 46 and note to 162 IX 25.

regarded as the exercise by the epistrategos of purely disciplinary powers<sup>86</sup>, as perhaps could SB 4638. On the other hand the failure by the epistrategos to pronounce sentence in the absence of one party to the case in UPZ 162 has been held to prove that he is a mere arbiter<sup>87</sup>. More difficult are P. Lond. 401 and SB 4512. In the first the epistrategos is apparently being asked to take action which looks more like that of a judge than an administrator with coercive powers<sup>88</sup>, and in the second it is hard to maintain that he is purely an arbiter and to deny that he pronounces sentence<sup>89</sup>. Indeed it seems to me that we must accept not only that the forms of the 'court' of officials practising 'Beamtenjustiz' were identical with those of law-courts<sup>90</sup>, even including the use of the verb κρίνειν for pronouncing sentence<sup>91</sup>, but that such officials had direct and real competence as judges<sup>92</sup>. If we are to find a distinction between the justice administered by the courts and 'Beamtenjustiz', it seems to me we are most likely to find it along the lines suggested by Wolff, i. e. by looking at the purpose in the minds of applicants in approaching either a court or an official; what they wanted from the latter was 'administrative Vollstreckungshilfe', not to start a 'Prozeß', and the instigation of 'die Erwirkung koerzitiver Maßnahmen der Behörde, die zur unmittelbaren Befriedigung des Antragstellers führen

<sup>86</sup> As well as the authorities cited in the previous note cf. P. Handrock, Dienstl. Weisung, 82-4, P. Collomp, Chancellerie 150.

<sup>87</sup> This is the text above all on which all the authorities cited in n. 85 rely (cf. e. g. Martin 65 n. 1).

<sup>88</sup> Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora* cit., regards him here as an arbiter, but without giving any reason for this, on the face of it unlikely, suggestion.

<sup>89</sup> Thus Semeka, *op. cit.* (n. 49) 97 f., and Berneker, *Prozeßeinleitung* 33 f., both hold that this text disproves Martin's view that the epistrategos could not pronounce sentence as a judge. For the crucial words see the passage from SB 4512 quoted in the text on p. 63.

<sup>90</sup> As is admitted even by Taubenschlag, *loc. cit.* 595-9. The epistrategos' court is called a κριτήριον in UPZ 162 II 29 f.

<sup>91</sup> Notice the use of ἐκρίναμεν by the nome epistates in UPZ 193.36, which is also in the pl. maiestatis (cf. Wilcken's note). What was true of the epistates would a fortiori be true of the strategos and epistrategos.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. what is asserted of the strategos by Seidl, *Ptol. Rechtsgesch.*, 78 ff. (cf. Guéraud, P. Enteuxis, pp. lxxii ff.), and of the epistrategos as well by Semeka, *op. cit.* (n. 49) 99. Cf. Berneker, *Sondergerichtsbarkeit*, chap. II, who distinguishes the epistrategos from on the one hand mere police officials and on the other those, like the dioiketes, whom he regards as mere 'Verwaltungsbeamte', and considers him as an official with 'Befugnis zur richterlichen Entscheidung'. I suspect that too much has been made of the epistrategos' failure to pronounce sentence in UPZ 162 in the absence of the choachytes, the accused party. Note that they did vacate the property (col. II 29-31, παραγγελέντος αὐτοῖς ἐρχεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸ κριτήριον . . . . οἱ δ' ἐκτοπίσαντες οὐκ ἀπήντησαν), even if in the event only temporarily, so that the result desired by the plaintiff was in fact achieved. See the editors of P. Col. Zenon 54 (note to ll. 56-8) on the probability that the strategos *could* give judgment by default.

sollten'<sup>93</sup>. Speed was an obvious advantage of 'Beamtenjustiz'<sup>94</sup>. But while I should regard the evidence for the epistrategos as perfectly consistent with an explanation of this kind, I am not sure that it is right to look for distinctions in the Ptolemaic period between the judicial quality of the justice administered by officials and that administered by the courts, with the implication that the former is in some way inferior. In particular it seems to me more probable that those scholars are right who stress the lack of distinction between administrative and judicial action in Ptolemaic law<sup>95</sup>. Nor is it certain that a distinction between decisions given by officials and those of the lawcourts is to be seen in the fact that the former do not necessarily end the affair, which is sometimes re-opened by the losing party; it may be that the principle that a *res iudicata* could not normally be reconsidered was unknown to Ptolemaic law in respect of *all* judgments and not simply for those made by individual officials<sup>96</sup>. (It was usual to get round this by the parties to the action entering into a contract to abide by the judgment given and we have a papyrus in which this is done in respect of a decision of an epistrategos<sup>97</sup>.) It is certainly dangerous to introduce modern concepts into the study of ancient law<sup>98</sup>.

Such jurisdiction as we have seen the epistrategos exercising he could, I believe, exercise both in cases which a modern lawyer would class as civil and in those he would class as criminal<sup>99</sup>. Again, however, I suspect that

<sup>93</sup> Wolff, *Justizwesen*, 2f. and chap. 4, esp. pp. 127ff. (the quotations are from p. 186).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Seidl, *op. cit.* 79, and Berneker, *Mél. Maspero II* (MIFAO 67, 1934-7) 1-8.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. W. Hellebrand, *Das Prozeßzeugnis im Rechte der gr.-äg. Papyri* (Münch. Beitr. 18; 1934), p. ix 'es gab weiter im ptolemäischen Reich keine grundsätzliche Trennung von Justiz und Verwaltung' and Wenger, referred to in UPZ I, p. 649 'In Ägypten eine Scheidung zwischen den Administrativsachen und den Justizsachen nicht durchgeführt werden könne, weil dort bei der Abhängigkeit der Richterbeamten jedes Gerichtsverfahren Verwaltungssache werden könne'.

<sup>96</sup> See esp. Talamanca, *BIDR* iv (1962) 253f., with reference to O. Bodl. (= O. Tait I) 277. On this point cf. Seidl, *op. cit.* (n. 64) 99f., Berneker, *Festschr. P. Koschaker III* (1939) 268-80 and *JJP* IV (1950) 253-64, Thompson, *A family archive from Siut*, pp. xxif., quoted in n. 101 below, and Taubenschlag, *Law*<sup>2</sup> 522f. and *Opera Minora II* 703ff.

<sup>97</sup> P. Strasb. dem. W.G. 18: Boethos has given a judgment in favour of one party to the action (SB 4512.82-5; see above); in the demotic papyrus mentioned the loser agrees to abide by the decision given and not to bring any action on the same subject in the future under pain of a fine. Cf. Taubenschlag, *Law cit.*

<sup>98</sup> Note esp. Berneker, *Sondergerichtsbarkeit* 6, 'als Standpunkt einer historischen Darstellung können wir zwar nicht die jetzige Zeit, unsere heutigen Rechtsideen und Begriffe wählen'. In particular this seems to me to throw a questionable light on the use in this argument of the term 'Friedensrichter', a technical term of modern German legal practice.

<sup>99</sup> The distinction between civil and criminal jurisdiction is made at its most extreme in Taubenschlag, *Das Strafrecht*, esp. 55-7; for the epistrategos cf. p. 56.

this is to introduce into Ptolemaic law a concept which is foreign to it<sup>100</sup>. Nor should we look for any hierarchy among officials' courts<sup>101</sup>. No doubt in practice an applicant would feel that there was greater prestige attached to a decision by a higher, i. e. more powerful, official, and failure to achieve satisfaction at lower levels could certainly lead to an attempt to get action from superiors<sup>102</sup>. But there is no trace anywhere in the Ptolemaic system of any form of appeal from one court to a higher one nor any sense in which the court of a high official such as an epistrategos was legally superior to that of any other official competent to take judicial action.

Of the jurisdiction of strategoi of the Thebaid who are not at the same time epistrategoi we do not learn very much. In general the petitions they receive are concerned with disputes over property or allegations of assault, and the requests for action on their part are for the normal help to be expected from a powerful administrator; the petitions do not differ in any essentials from appeals to the epistrategos or on the other hand to the ordinary nome strategos<sup>103</sup>. Two texts offer something of greater interest:

<sup>100</sup> See Berneker, *op. cit.* 8 'bei den antiken Sondergerichten . . . . – insbesondere im Recht der Papyri – eine Unterscheidung zwischen zivilen und kriminellen Gerichten gar nicht gemacht werden kann'; cf. Semeka, *op. cit.* (n. 49), 67f.

<sup>101</sup> What I believe to be the correct view is clearly expressed by H. Thompson, *A Family Archive from Siut*, pp. xxi f. 'there was no real system of appeal from one Court to a higher Court and a final decision in Egypt in the Ptolemaic time'.

<sup>102</sup> Thus in SB 4512 failure to get a satisfactory solution from the archiphylakites leads the petitioners to approach the epistrategos, possibly after a previous approach to the nome strategos (cf. p. 39) and in P. Merton 5 a petitioner presents his case to the strategos of the Thebaid after he has failed to achieve his object through the epistates; cf. also P. Grenf. I 11, with Peremans–Van 't Dack, RIDA i (1948) 171.

<sup>103</sup> On the formal nature of these petitions see Di Bitonto, *Aegyptus* xlviii (1968) 53ff. Examples of petitions to strategoi of the Thebaid are the following: in the Siut archive we have (1) an appeal by Tefhape to Theomnestos, who apparently refers the matter for settlement by the official in charge of the Lykopolite nome (BM eg. 10591 recto iii 12ff.; cf. the translation by Seidl, *Zeitschr. vgl. Recht.* lxix (1967) 101 'habe ich . . . dem Strategen Theomnestos ein Hypomnema überreicht, und dieser delegierte meinethalben das Anhören meiner Klage . . . an Timarchos, den Distriktsstrategen von Siut', (2) the transferring of the appeal, after his departure, to his successor Noumenios, which leads eventually to the case coming before the court of the laokritai (recto ii 3ff.), (3) a quite separate petition by priests at Syene to the same Noumenios, who is asked to give instructions in a property dispute to the epistates and police (verso i–ii) (both Theomnestos and Noumenios are strategoi of the Thebaid here, as is Noumenios in the next two texts, see pp. 113–14). In P. Grenf. I 38 a phylakites alleges assault and asks Noumenios to have the offender brought before him so that the petitioner may obtain justice (ll. 16ff.), and in SB 9108 he is asked to stop abuses being committed by taking action through the ἀρχιφυλακίτης (on the rank of Noumenios here see Reekmans–Van 't Dack in the original publication, RIDA v (1950) 419–21). Boethos while still only strategos of the Thebaid is asked to summon the parties to the dispute before him so that the ownership of land

in P. Grenf. I 11 II 23ff. Daimachos (whom I should regard as strategos of the Thebaid<sup>104</sup>) apparently gives a judgment<sup>105</sup>, action which as we have seen could be taken by the epistrategos; and in P. Grenf. I 42 the petitioners are soldiers and the complaint is that they are poorly paid in comparison with other troops. As the strategos to whom the petition is addressed is to be seen exercising jurisdiction in military matters he may reasonably be taken to be strategos of the Thebaid<sup>106</sup>. In general there is nothing in our evidence to suggest that the judicial powers of the strategos of the Thebaid differed in any significant way from those of the epistrategos<sup>107</sup>.

### 3. *Other posts held by epistrategoi*

These fall into four categories: (a) posts in the central administration, which will be dealt with in the first section of the next chapter; (b) the post of strategos of the Thebaid, a combination which pervades the whole of the first three chapters and will not be discussed here; (c) priestly and municipal posts, which will be glanced at briefly where appropriate in the fourth chapter; and (d) the posts of thebarch and ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης.

Kallimachos is twice attested as θηβάρχης at the time when he was holding the post of epistrategos<sup>108</sup>. No one has doubted that he holds the posts concurrently; the problem is to decide the nature of the thebarchy. Earlier views that the post was military, a sort of 'Platzkommandant', are certainly wrong<sup>109</sup>, and the probability must be that the post is finan-

may be settled (P. Merton 5). The petition to Daimachos, SB 8033, may also be relevant. On the jurisdiction of the nome strategos see Seidl, Ptol. Rechtsgesch., 78–80, Wolff, Justizwesen, Chap. iv, and Bengtson 77–81.

<sup>104</sup> See pp. 34–5.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. Peremans–Van 't Dack, RIDA i (1948) 171f.

<sup>106</sup> He has the court rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, but as the text is undated (cf. Chap. 1 n. 242) this does not help to determine what sort of strategos he is.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Seidl–Stricker, ZSS lvii (1937) 272ff. esp. 283–4.

<sup>108</sup> Inscr. Phil. 53 and 56; comparison of the two titles (quoted in the list, pp. 121–2) suggests to me the possibility that in Inscr. Phil. 53 we should emend to ἐπισ[τ]ράτ[ηγος] [x]αὶ <θηβάρχης τῆς> Θηβα[ίδος] (cf. Chap. 4 n. 159). [θηβάρχ]ου has been suggested in Inscr. Phil. 15.6 (where the epistrategos is B[όηθος]) and is accepted by Bernand, but the fact that Kallimachos held both these posts in the middle of the first century is no guarantee that they could have been combined seventy years earlier (cf. Martin 33, n. 2). I am unable to suggest a plausible alternative; certainly Henne's [διοικητ]οῦ (REA xxxvii (1935) 23 n. 3) is not attractive.

<sup>109</sup> Martin 31–3 has no difficulty in refusing such views, e. g. those of Dittenberger ad OGIS 190.4 and P. M. Meyer, Heerwesen 90.

cial<sup>110</sup>. The difficulty is that it appears to be a position of very minor importance<sup>111</sup>. How then can it be held by someone as grand as Kallimachos<sup>112</sup>?

The possibility is worth considering that the thebarch was not such a lowly office as is generally thought. In Inscr. Phil. 19.24, where numerous officials in the Thebaid are mentioned, his place is after στρατηγοί and ἐπιστάται, and before all the rest (i. e. royal scribes, police officials, etc.). Despite Martin this is not such a lowly place<sup>113</sup>. In an inscription he is apparently an eponymous official<sup>114</sup>. His sphere of operation was the whole of the Thebaid<sup>115</sup>, and the rank of τῶν ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων which a deputy thebarch holds in 131 is by no means very low at this date<sup>116</sup>. Nor is the trivial nature of some of his duties proof that he could not have been an official of consequence: we find both the strategos of the Thebaid and the dioiketes on occasion dealing with minutiae<sup>117</sup>. Note too that the dioiketes addresses him with noticeable 'Höflichkeit' in UPZ 202<sup>118</sup>. For the combination of a financial post with that of epistrategos we may compare the strategos who is also nomarch in UPZ 162<sup>119</sup>, and more generally the uniting of the posts of strategos and ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, which became regular from the later second century<sup>120</sup>. But technically at any rate this

<sup>110</sup> So Martin loc. cit. Jouguet, REG xxv (1912) 230 n. 1, tentatively suggested that he might be a civil magistrate at Thebes (the position being an honorary one for Kallimachos), but the title *θηβάρχης τῆς Θηβαίδος* (see below, n. 115) rules this out.

<sup>111</sup> Martin 32 n. 5 lists the tasks he is known to have performed and the position is worse since he wrote: the new evidence of UPZ 199–203, 208, 218–22, 224 and BGU 1926, mostly concerned with the deputy thebarch, all appears to be about trivial financial matters.

<sup>112</sup> Bengtson 119f. owns himself baffled. Martin 33–4 adopts the desperate expedient that the addition of *θηβάρχης* to the titles of Kallimachos was a stonemason's fantasy. Henne, loc. cit. (n. 108) n. 5, suggests that the thebarch was a sort of nomarch, but the nomarch is now small fry. See also Handrock, *Dienstl. Weisung* 47–9. The note ad Inscr. Phil. 19.24 is a step backwards.

<sup>113</sup> Martin 32. These epistatai were of course officials in charge of a nome, i. e. the equivalent of strategoi elsewhere in Egypt.

<sup>114</sup> SB 8380 (from Edfu).

<sup>115</sup> This seems to me an inevitable deduction from the wording of Inscr. Phil. 56.6–7, *στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπιστρατήγου καὶ θηβάρχου τῆς Θηβαίδος*. I cannot accept Bengtson's idea (p. 120) that there was a thebarch of the Thebaid as distinct from lesser thebarchs; see Fraser, *BSAA* xli (1956) 54 n. 1.

<sup>116</sup> UPZ 224 III 7, cf. 222.1.

<sup>117</sup> For the strategos of the Thebaid see UPZ 201.14/16 (cf. Wilcken's note ad loc.), and for the dioiketes cf. Préaux, *L'économie royale*, 528.

<sup>118</sup> See Wilcken's note ad frag. II 1–5, and Handrock, op. cit. 48f.

<sup>119</sup> Col. I 12, etc. (117).

<sup>120</sup> Its regularity from this time on can be judged from the frequent examples quoted in PP I 972–1001. Note that we have no certain example of an epistrategos who is also thebarch before the first century, i. e. after the uniting of the *strategia* with the office of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων.



should have brought the thebarch under the control of the dioiketes<sup>121</sup>, and I do not wish to obscure the awkwardness this creates when we find the office of thebarch held by an epistrategos<sup>122</sup>. Perhaps the post was no more than honorary<sup>123</sup>, in which case it must presumably have had some distinction or an epistrategos would not have wished to bear it as part of his titulature.

There is no such difficulty regarding the post of ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης, a title borne by Kallimachos on no less than four occasions<sup>124</sup>. It certainly entailed control of the deserts to the east of the Nile and the sea coast bordering thereon, which at this date can have been important only for the trade routes which passed through them. Now there is evidence that the Ptolemies took an interest in trade in this area as early as the reign of Philadelphos<sup>125</sup>, and in the middle of the second century we find the strategos of the Thebaid with responsibility for policing the area east of Koptos, as well as in command of ships<sup>126</sup>. But the title ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης looks as though it refers to a specific post, an extension of the powers of the epistrategos<sup>127</sup>, and it is very tempting to connect it with changed circumstances, i. e. a considerable development in trade with the East, especially India, brought about by the discovery of the monsoon<sup>128</sup>.

The post is first attested in 74, when it is held by a strategos, possibly the

<sup>121</sup> As indeed is to be found in UPZ 202, cf. above. The thebarch is apparently a subordinate of the strategos of the Thebaid in UPZ 208, cf. Handrock op. cit. (n. 112) 80f., which is even more surprising.

<sup>122</sup> It may well be that we should see here deliberate policy on the part of the king, who sought in this way to prevent his leading officials from acquiring too much power and thus becoming a threat to the throne.

<sup>123</sup> Note that Demetrios, thebarch in the 130s, seems to have all the work done for him by a deputy (see the texts quoted above, n. 111).

<sup>124</sup> References in the list, pp. 121–2.

<sup>125</sup> The foundation of settlements there can be traced back to his reign, cf. V. Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen* (Philologus Suppl. xix, 1) (1927) 12–15, H. Kortenbeutel, *Der ägyptische Süd- und Osthandel* (1931) 22f., and Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I 177f.

<sup>126</sup> OGIS 132 (130), see ll. 7–12; cf. Fraser, op. cit. I 180. The ships are certainly to be regarded as part of a fleet at sea, not as police boats on the Nile (cf. Wilcken, *Gr.* 264, Kortenbeutel, op. cit. 44f.). P. Ryl. 66b is not relevant, see Chap. 4 n. 65.

<sup>127</sup> Despite Martin 63 n. 2.

<sup>128</sup> First suggested by Kortenbeutel, op. cit. 48–50, who remarks on p. 48 ‘dieser Zusatz [of the title ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης] ist nur durch ein wichtiges Ereignis zu erklären’. This is accepted by Otto-Bengtson (see n. 129), in SEHHW II 927–9, and, most recently, by Fraser, op. cit. I 181–4; cf. also Mooren, *Ancient Society* iii (1972) 132f., and A. Dihle, *Umstrittene Daten*, *Wiss. Abh. Arbeitsg. f. Forsch. Nordrhein-Westf.* 32 (Köln-Opladen 1965), 38 n. 40.

strategos of the Koptite nome<sup>129</sup>. Otto and Bengtson argued at great length and with considerable ingenuity that the monsoon was discovered right at the end of Euergetes II's reign, who died in 116<sup>130</sup>. This is not wholly convincing. There seem to have been stages in the development of trade with the East, with coastal voyages to India preceding those across the open sea using the monsoon. However, a date in the neighbourhood of 100 looks likely to be right for this discovery<sup>131</sup>. Soon afterwards, we may suppose, the government felt it desirable to create a regular post in charge of the area east of Koptos together with the coast<sup>132</sup>, at first putting it under the control of a strategos. Later it was transferred to the epistrategos, a move which suggests that the post was increasing in importance and which therefore implies that trade with the East continued to flourish in the middle of the first century.

Is the post military? If so we must accept that right at the end of the Ptolemaic dynasty the epistrategos could still hold a military post. This would strongly suggest that the change whereby the office became purely civil was the work of the Romans. Alternatively the post could perhaps have been administered by the epistrategos solely in virtue of his police powers, powers which were possessed also by the by now purely civil nome strategos<sup>133</sup>. But the epistrategos, as we have seen, originally had military power and command of troops, and it is no doubt more natural to regard this new function of ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης as an extension of his military authority.

<sup>129</sup> SB 8036; on the date see pp. 133–4. I am not at all sure that Otto–Bengtson (esp. 10 and 215) are right to regard the strategos of SB 8036 as strategos of the Koptite nome; the fact that the inscription comes from there does not prove this and if the post of ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης is rightly seen as military (see the next paragraph of the text), it is hardly possible that it should have been accorded to a nome strategos at this date.

<sup>130</sup> Otto–Bengtson 194ff., esp. 210. It is strange that this hypothesis should have been not infrequently overlooked or disregarded; thus, for example, Thorley in his recent lucid account of trade with the East under Augustus (Greece and Rome xvi (1969) 209–23) speaks as though the dispute over the date at which the monsoon was discovered were merely between mid first century A. D. (Warmington's old view) and the reign of Augustus (see esp. p. 212 and bibliography in n. 2).

<sup>131</sup> See Fraser, loc. cit. in n. 127. As he makes very clear, we must distinguish several stages in the discovery of the monsoon (as indicated in Pliny's account); the last of these certainly belongs to the early Roman period, but there is little doubt that a *partial* discovery is to be dated much earlier, and it is this discovery which I should date c. 100 and connect with the title ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης. Kortenteutel, however, was not justified in deducing from the absence of ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης in Phommous' titulature as epistrategos in 115–10 that the monsoon had not yet been discovered, see Fraser, op. cit. II 314 n. 398.

<sup>132</sup> We could regard the command mentioned in OGIS 132 as a temporary measure.

<sup>133</sup> Cf. Bengtson 81–6.

## Chapter 3

### The nature of the office: the central problem

We must now turn to the central problem concerning the Ptolemaic epistrategos: the essential nature of the office and the power which its holder possessed. In particular, did an official who was given the rank of epistrategos thereby become one of the most powerful figures in the Ptolemaic administration or was it in practice nothing more than an empty honour? We may conveniently begin our enquiry into this problem by examining the position held by the epistrategos in the hierarchy of Ptolemaic officials.

#### *1. The hierarchical position of the epistrategos*

We know that the epistrategos ranked higher than the ordinary nome strategos. What we need to examine here is his position in relation to officials of the central administration. In SB 1568 Apollodoros has as well as the title ἐπιστράτηγος that of πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεις, in SB 7259 Ptolemaios is ὑπομνηματογράφος καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος, and in Inscr. Phil. 44 Hephaistion is described as [ἐπι]στ[ρ]ατήγου καὶ διέ[πο]ν[τος τὰ] κατὰ [τ]ὴν δ[ι]οίκ[ησιν]<sup>1</sup>. Also relevant are two Cypriot inscriptions which refer to Lochos as ὑπομνηματογράφος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος<sup>2</sup>. Were these posts held concurrently or are they examples of a cursus? Nearly all scholars who have considered the problem have pronounced themselves in favour of a cursus<sup>3</sup>. I believe this to be mistaken. First and foremost it cannot be denied that the words naturally mean that the posts were held concurrently; to describe a

<sup>1</sup> The reading is not seriously in doubt, cf. Bernand ad loc.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 24 and 28 of the texts re-edited by Mitford, *Opusc. Ath.* i (1953) 156–7 and 160–1 (= BSA lvi (1961) 28–9).

<sup>3</sup> Notably Martin 73–7, cf. 176 n. 1 (referring to Apollodoros and Lochos), Van 't Dack 1952, 442 (Ptolemaios), Peremans–Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 12ff., Berneker, *Prozeßeinleitung* 26 (Apollodoros); Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.*, II 190f., tentatively agrees for Lochos (but not for Ptolemaios). Against a cursus Collomp, *Chancellerie*, 46–9 (for Ptolemaios) (but cf. p. 208) and Otto–Bengtson 8 n. 1 (for Apollodoros – a cursus is ‘eigentlich ausgeschlossen’).

man as ὑπομνηματογράφος καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος, for example, ought to mean that he is at the time of writing holding both posts simultaneously. Nor is any example known to me from the Ptolemaic period where such a description *must* imply a cursus and where it is impossible to give the words their natural meaning<sup>4</sup>. Secondly, if a writer wanted to indicate that a man had formerly held a post but no longer did so it was open to him to use a past participle of the relevant verb, or to employ τότε or γενόμενος; all these methods are attested<sup>5</sup>. Most significant are two inscriptions in which a man is recorded with two official posts to one of which γενόμενος is applied<sup>6</sup>. These texts must imply a cursus and at the same time show that Ptolemaic drafters knew how to indicate such a cursus when they thought it necessary. Thirdly, the order in which the offices of the three epistrategoï mentioned above are recorded is inconsistent if we are to regard them all as examples of a cursus. Ptolemaios must be functioning as ὑπομνηματογράφος<sup>7</sup>, therefore we must believe that the post he is actually holding is mentioned first, before that of epistrategos which he had ceased to hold. But in a text from the Fayum one might like to believe that Apollodoros is being honoured in his capacity as πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεις<sup>8</sup>, yet this is recorded after the post of epistrategos. More significantly, Hephaistion must be currently holding the post of διέπων τὰ κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν as the wording proves, so if he is not at the same time epistrategos, the office he is holding is given *after* that which he had ceased to hold. It is worth remarking also that Hephaistion appears right on the southern border at Philai; it is much

<sup>4</sup> SB 2100 might be thought to be an exception, but cf. Bengtson 131 and Fraser op. cit. II 177, n. 16. I am referring here of course only to posts of the same type. I should hold in particular that the position of τροφεὺς καὶ τιθηνός, which is ascribed to Apollodoros in SB 1568, may relate to a post which he had formerly held but was not now filling. As indicated below, pp. 100–1, there is no inconsistency in this.

<sup>5</sup> One example of each will suffice: P. Tebt. 61 (b). 263 τῶν ἐπ' Ἀμφικλείους τοῦ ὑπ[ομν]ηματογραφ[σ]α[ν]τος προσαχθέντων; UPZ 162 II 23f. τῷ τότε ἐπιστατοῦντι; P. Tebt. 61 (b). 46f. ὑπὸ Φανίου τοῦ γενομένου στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ[ν] προσόδων. Wilcken, in the introduction to Chr. 163, is, I think, wrong in his contention that in the Ptolemaic period 'die verflossenen Ämter . . . nicht durch die präteritale Form charakterisiert werden'.

<sup>6</sup> OGIS 134 τ[ὸ]ν γενόμενον ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἡγεμόνα καὶ ἱππάρχην ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν, where Dittenberger is I think right to regard γενόμενον as relating to ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως only (so that the man was currently ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἱππάρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν); and SEG XXIII 617, where honours are paid to Dionysios τῶν φίλων καὶ [βασι]λικὴν δικαστήν, τὸν γενόμενον πολιτικὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ λδ (ἔτους) καὶ λε (ἔτους); this surely can only mean that he has ceased to be πολιτικὸς στρατηγός but is at the time the dedication was made βασιλικὸς δικαστής. Both texts are second century and come from Cyprus.

<sup>7</sup> The parallel with SB 6155, where very similar action is taken by an official who has the office of ὑπομνηματογράφος only, guarantees this; cf. Collomp, Chancellerie, 208.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. esp. Martin 75.

more likely that he makes an appearance here by virtue of holding the post of epistrategos than by virtue of being acting dioiketes, with the necessary consequence that he was combining the two posts<sup>9</sup>.

There are of course serious difficulties in the view I have put forward. Even if the post of epistrategos was not confined to the Thebaid it is not at all easy to see how it can have been combined with a post in the central administration which one would expect to have been a full-time job. But the fact seems to be that it was and this has implications for the nature of the post of the epistrategos as we shall see. The case of Lochos is particularly difficult<sup>10</sup>. I can only suggest that the combination of the post of hypomnematographos with that of strategos of the Thebaid in his case was wholly exceptional. Lochos was strategos of the Thebaid at a critical time, when Euergetes II was engaged in his struggle for the kingdom<sup>11</sup>. This suggests to me two possible explanations: either that Lochos while strategos of the Thebaid had temporary and exceptional authority outside the Thebaid, or that Euergetes II needed a hypomnematographos at a time when his authority was confined to parts of the chora only, i. e. the hypomnematographos at this time was not based at Alexandria because the city was not then in the possession of the king<sup>12</sup>. This might explain what on the face of it is a very unlikely combination of offices.

The order in which the official positions are mentioned in the three inscriptions relating to epistrategoi referred to above is of interest for the hierarchical position of the office. The general rule in Ptolemaic Egypt, to which I know of no exceptions, was to put first in a record of a man's posts the one which was the most important<sup>13</sup>. From SB 1568 we should therefore deduce that the post of epistrategos ranked higher than that of

<sup>9</sup> However, Hephaistion need not have been present in person (despite Bernand, *Inscr. Phil.* p. 51), and we do have one other reference to a *proskynema* for a member of the central bureaucracy at Philai, namely for Kastor ὁ πρὸς τῷ ἰδίῳ λόγῳ (*Inscr. Phil.* 32; cf. 33).

<sup>10</sup> Martin 76f. assumes that we have here a *cursus*. Collomp, *Chancellerie*, 43, says it must be a *cursus*, but on p. 49 qualifies this with 'peut-être'. Note however that the idea of a *cursus* is not without its difficulties: the order in which the posts are mentioned would imply in this case that Lochos was at the time of the inscription strategos of the Thebaid, having previously been hypomnematographos – apparently a demotion (cf. p. 76)!

<sup>11</sup> He may well have been strategos of the Thebaid while assisting Euergetes to recover Alexandria, see p. 116.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. pp. 21–2. Mitford, *JHS* lxxix (1959) 121, has an alternative idea, namely that Lochos was hypomnematographos for Euergetes II at a time when the king's chancery was in Cyprus.

<sup>13</sup> This naturally applies only to offices of a similar type (official, municipal, priestly, etc.).

πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι. We know virtually nothing of the latter post but it was no doubt part of the central bureaucracy based on Alexandria, though possibly functioning when needed in the chora<sup>14</sup>. In or about 149/8 two men with the post of πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι have the rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, whereas the epistrategos had been in the higher rank of τῶν πρώτων φίλων at least by 175<sup>15</sup>. This supports the view that it was a higher-ranking post.

By the same token the post of hypomnematographos should have ranked higher than that of epistrategos, as it is referred to first in SB 7259. This is by no means unlikely: the hypomnematographos was responsible for duties throughout the realm, whereas the epistrategos is never known to have had authority outside the chora<sup>16</sup>. What is true of the hypomnematographos in this respect is likely to be true also of the epistolographos. It may therefore be significant that in OGIS 168 the petitioners ask that the orders of the sovereigns be transmitted to the epistrategos through the epistolographos<sup>17</sup>. Note too the parallelism with the orders the strategos of the Thebaid receives in Inscr. Phil. 19<sup>18</sup>. However, this may be no more than the usual channel by which the king communicated with his officials and may imply no superiority of one function to another<sup>19</sup>.

It is much more difficult to assess the position of the epistrategos and the dioiketes vis-à-vis one another. The widespread assumption that because the dioiketes was all-powerful in the third century and again in the first, he therefore enjoyed the same pre-eminence in the second, can, I believe, be shown to be false; and it can be demonstrated that Hippalos as epistrategos in the earlier part of the second century held a higher position in the state than did the dioiketes<sup>20</sup>. By the first century this appears to have changed. In the only case we know of in which a man held both the post of epistra-

<sup>14</sup> The evidence is SB 1568, P. Tebt. 86.2f., P. Lond. 610 and P. Yale 57.9. For discussion of the office see Berneker, *Prozeßeinl.*, 25–9, Zucker, *Gerichtsorganisation* 37f., and the introduction to P. Yale 57. In P. Lond. 610 the two officials named are πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ κριτηρίου (information from Skeat).

<sup>15</sup> P. Lond. 610 (see Peremans–Van ’t Dack, *Stud. Hell. cit.* (n. 3) 14 n. 3); for the rank of the epistrategos see p. 43.

<sup>16</sup> On the hypomnematographos and epistolographos the locus classicus is the work by Collomp. On the former see also the introduction to P. Tebt. 703 and Wilcken, *Gr.* 6f.

<sup>17</sup> Lines 48f.; cf. Collomp, *Chancellerie*, 179 and 195.

<sup>18</sup> See esp. lines 31ff.; Martin 17 deduces from this the superiority of the epistolographos.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. UPZ 108, where a petitioner requests the king to instruct the epistolographos to write direct to the nome strategos, and this is the channel by which the ἐντολή requested in UPZ 106 is issued.

<sup>20</sup> See p. 28.

tegos and that of dioiketes<sup>21</sup> he held that of epistrategos first and we cannot doubt that he was subsequently promoted<sup>22</sup>.

If we apply the test suggested right at the beginning of this book<sup>23</sup>, namely the geographical area which the epistrategos controlled as against the number of departments in which he exercised authority, we find that he is inferior to the central officials we have just mentioned in that his control is limited to the chora and does not extend to the Greek cities in Egypt, much less to the empire outside Egypt, but that he is superior to them in exercising control in all departments of the civil service and in the military administration as well<sup>24</sup>.

From this I should conclude that initially, when Hippalos held the post, the epistrategos was among the two or three most powerful officials in the state. Subsequently there may have been some decline, with the epistrategos coming to rank lower than the dioiketes; but no doubt there was never any rigidly fixed hierarchy among these top posts in the administration.

## 2. Titles

Also relevant to the central problem of the office is the meaning of the various titles borne by epistrategoi, a question which we are in a better position to answer now that we have explored the various powers of the epistrategoi and strategoi of the Thebaid.

For Martin the answer was simple: whether the official bore the title ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος or στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος, or whether he had only a part of this title, namely στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος or ἐπιστράτηγος by themselves, the post referred to was one and the same<sup>25</sup>. From our previous discussions we have seen that this will no longer do. In particular we have seen that there is no reason to suppose

<sup>21</sup> Hephaestion, on whom see p. 105. I believe the description of him as διέπων τὰ κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν in Inscr. Phil. 44 means that he was temporarily put in charge of the office of dioiketes, while continuing to hold his principal job of epistrategos (hence this is mentioned first); that is, he was an 'acting dioiketes', not the regular holder of the post. Subsequently he became dioiketes proper and relinquished his post as epistrategos (see p. 105).

<sup>22</sup> P. Yale 33 .1 n. mentions the possibility of 'demotion' in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy, perhaps because of shortage of personnel, but there is no reason to believe that that is what happened in Hephaestion's case.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 10.

<sup>24</sup> Martin 17 and 77, who takes note of the geographical criterion only, deduces from this the inferiority of the epistrategos to the hypomnematographos.

<sup>25</sup> Martin 23-40.

that an official called simply στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος was ever epistrategos<sup>26</sup>. The other titles and combinations of titles need closer examination.

Martin believed that ἐπιστράτηγος could be used by itself to represent the full title ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος. This may be true, but is certainly not self-evident; and since Martin wrote the evidence which has accumulated has usually been of the one word title ἐπιστράτηγος rather than the longer form<sup>27</sup>. An ostrakon which refers to Phommous as συγγενῆς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος, whereas elsewhere he is only known as epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid, is inconclusive, since it is broken off at this point<sup>28</sup>. More important is the evidence for Demetrios and Kallimachos. On one occasion the former appears simply as ἐπιστράτηγος<sup>29</sup>. In an inscription a Demetrios is epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid<sup>30</sup>. If the two men are one and the same and unless the inscription is later and Demetrios has by this time had the post of strategos of the Thebaid added on, this proves that ἐπιστράτηγος could stand for the full title ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος. But the inscription has no date and Demetrios is such a common name that we may be dealing with two homonyms<sup>31</sup>. In the case of Kallimachos the four texts in which he is epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid are earlier in date than the two in which he is simply ἐπιστράτηγος<sup>32</sup>. There might therefore have been a rearrangement of the organisation at some point, during which Kallimachos handed over part of his powers while remaining epistrategos<sup>33</sup>, or again we may have to do with two men of the same name<sup>34</sup>. However, while these possibilities exist, none of them is likely. I should therefore accept these texts as proving that the title ἐπιστράτηγος could be used to imply a full title of ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος.

But if it *could* have this implication that is not to say that it *must* do so. In particular we find Hippalos referred to as ἐπιστράτηγος, never as ἐπιστρά-

<sup>26</sup> See pp. 53–4.

<sup>27</sup> To the evidence to be seen in the list on pp. 120–2 is to be added P. Tebt. 86 verso, which refers to a person whose name is unknown as ἐπιστράτηγος tout court. The title ἐπιστράτηγος by itself is now attested twelve times, the combination of this with στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος fourteen times, and the oddity (on which see below) στρατηγός καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος twice. I ignore P. Strasb. 98 and P. Tebt. 920.15, which mention an ἐπιστράτηγος, as the texts are lost after this word so that the full title of the official is unknown.

<sup>28</sup> O. Petrie 49 (O. Tait I, p. 83).

<sup>29</sup> UPZ 162 I 17.

<sup>30</sup> Inscr. Phil. 20.

<sup>31</sup> See further pp. 101–3.

<sup>32</sup> References in the list on pp. 121–2.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Bingen, CE xlv (1970) 377.

<sup>34</sup> Ibidem; see further pp. 106–7.



τηγος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος, and although he may at an earlier stage in his career have been strategos of the Thebaid<sup>35</sup>, there is every reason to think that he was *not* strategos of the Thebaid at the same time as he was epistrategos<sup>36</sup>. Therefore it is not necessary to believe that all epistrategoi were also strategoi of the Thebaid, and this is particularly important in the cases of Apollodoros and Ptolemaios who were simultaneously holding posts in the central government<sup>37</sup>.

By far the most difficult question under this head concerns the title στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος in that order borne by two epistrategoi<sup>38</sup>. We have already seen that the posts of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid were originally distinct<sup>39</sup> and it is simplest to suppose that they always were distinct, though sometimes held concurrently by the same person<sup>40</sup>. The occurrence of the form of titulature which I have just mentioned is exceedingly damaging to such a view<sup>41</sup>. One such occurrence might be regarded as a simple error of the stonemason but two cannot; they are not to be dismissed in cavalier fashion<sup>42</sup>. The inscription relating to Kallimachos is almost certain to be right, as it is a public dedication to him at Ptolemais<sup>43</sup>. This occurrence of the title στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος I find less disturbing, since I am prepared to believe that by the middle of the first century the offices of strategos of the Thebaid and epistrategos were always combined in one person and could therefore have come to be regarded as a single composite office<sup>44</sup>. But it is much harder

<sup>35</sup> See p. 89.

<sup>36</sup> Note especially the likelihood that the post of strategos of the Thebaid was held by Theomnestos and Noumenios during the period in which Hippalos was epistrategos, above, pp. 47 and 49.

<sup>37</sup> SB 1568 and 7259. Note also the epistrategos, without further title, operating in the Fayum in P. Tebt. 86 verso (see Appendix I), and an epistrategos perhaps operating in the Herakleopolite in P. Strasb. 98 (see pp. 30–1).

<sup>38</sup> Hermokrates in OGIS 168. 49 (cf. l. 34) of 115, and Kallimachos in SB 2264 of 49 (cf. Inscr. Phil. 56); in the latter the titles are partially restored, but the space available rules out the possibility of restoring ἐπιστράτ]ηγος κ[αὶ στρατηγ]ὸς τῆς Θ[ηβαίδος].

<sup>39</sup> Pp. 53–4.

<sup>40</sup> This is Bengtson's view, see esp. 100: 'dieser beiden ihrem Wesen nach durchaus verschiedenen Ämter'.

<sup>41</sup> Aymard in his review of Bengtson (REA lv (1953) 135–6) was quite right to seize on this as a fundamental weakness in Bengtson's case.

<sup>42</sup> As OGIS 168 is dismissed by Bengtson on p. 229 n. 1. He makes no comment on SB 2264! Cf., however, Otto–Bengtson 8 n. 2, and Fraser, Ptol. Alex. II 314f.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Martin 34 and R. Hutmacher, Das Ehrendekret für den Strategen Kallimachos (1965) 11.

<sup>44</sup> See below, p. 86. Cf. that in Inscr. Phil. 52 and 53, both carved on the same day, one has ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγός and the other the reverse order στρατηγός καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος.

to believe that this change can have come about as early as 115. Not only do we have in Platon a probable strategos of the Thebaid in 101 who was not epistrategos<sup>45</sup>, but in Ptolemaios we have an epistrategos in 95 who was almost certainly not at the same time strategos of the Thebaid<sup>46</sup>. The problem is intractable.

One last point. It must be emphasised that there is no occurrence before the Roman period of the title ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος<sup>47</sup>. There is therefore no real justification for speaking of an ‘epistrategos of the Thebaid’ in the Ptolemaic period.

### 3. Conclusion

In the first chapter we came to several more or less definite conclusions on the office of epistrategos. There was only one such official in the Ptolemaic period, who at first was an extraordinary and temporary appointment, but who is likely to have become regular by at any rate the first century. There is good reason to believe that the office was created under Epiphanes. Hippalos, who may well have been the first holder, had authority throughout the chora, but later there is the possibility that the epistrategos was restricted to the Thebaid. At least initially the posts of epistrategos and of strategos of the Thebaid were quite distinct. From the second chapter it emerged clearly that there is no power which we know the epistrategos to have possessed which the strategos of the Thebaid did not also possess. We must now attempt to assess the real power possessed by the epistrategos and the fundamental nature of the office.

If we begin with the etymology of the word ἐπιστράτηγος, the prefix ἐπι- can surely only imply one thing – that the epistrategos was set over the strategoi<sup>48</sup>. Since strategoi were a widespread feature of Hellenistic administration one might expect to find such an official elsewhere, but in

<sup>45</sup> See pp. 117–18.

<sup>46</sup> SB 7259. If ἐπιστράτηγος were being used in this inscription simply as shorthand for ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος, we should have to believe that Ptolemaios combined the office of epistrategos not only with that of strategos of the Thebaid but also with that of hypomnematographos, a most unlikely possibility.

<sup>47</sup> That is by itself, without being preceded by the words στρατηγὸς καὶ as in OGIS 168 and SB 2264 just referred to.

<sup>48</sup> So Bengtson 122f. This has never been questionèd and can hardly be seriously doubted (though one should note Collomp’s warning (Chancellerie, 13) that ‘surtout en matière de langues techniques et administratives l’étymologie et la sémantique peuvent être des guides trompeurs’). It is true that in the case of the ἐπιτριήραρχος at Athens the prefix ἐπι- has a different implication; but for the meaning it must bear in reference to the ἐπιστράτηγος cf. the ἐπιλοχαγός and ἐπιλάρχης, who were no doubt the superiors of the λοχαγός and ἰάρχης respectively (so for the ἐπιλάρχης Clarysse,

fact the title ἐπιστράτηγος is never found outside the Ptolemaic administration<sup>49</sup>. The phenomenon of a superior to the strategos was known, in particular in the Seleucid kingdom where we meet with a στρατηγὸς πρωτόρχης<sup>50</sup>. But parallels from outside Egypt have nothing to tell us which is of value for interpreting the nature of the office of epistrategos in Egypt and we must seek a solution to the problem exclusively from the evidence from within the country.

What we should expect to find is that the epistrategos is an official with superior powers to the nome strategoi, and that is exactly what we do find in the case of Hippalos. The language in which he is spoken of in UPZ 110, especially the statement that he gave instructions to στρατηγοὶ καὶ λαοί<sup>51</sup>, exactly suits a powerful official with overriding control. Note too that his court rank of τῶν πρώτων φίλων may well have been the highest then known<sup>52</sup>; certainly all later epistrategoi are in the highest rank of συγγενής<sup>53</sup>. We cannot doubt that he had all the powers which a nome strategos possessed<sup>54</sup>, but his powers went further than this, as we have seen, since they were not merely civil but military as well<sup>55</sup>.

If the picture thus far is clear, it does not remain so when we look at later occurrences of epistrategoi. One striking feature of these is that nearly

Ancient Society ii (1971) 19), and outside Egypt the ἐπιδημιουργοί, Corinthian magistrates (attested in Thuc. i. 56) who may reasonably be regarded as superiors of the δημουργοί.

<sup>49</sup> Martin's assiduous searching turned up one unexpected example – I Macchabees xv 38, with reference to the Seleucid realm; but in the Codex Alexandrinus only, i. e. in a manuscript written in Egypt (the other manuscripts have στρατηγός). See Martin 79 f.

<sup>50</sup> See E. Bickermann, *Institutions des Séleucides* (1938) 187 ff., esp. 204; cf. Bengtson 146. Bengtson 121 suggests possible parallels to the epistrategos in the strategoi of Asia and Europe (cf. also id., *Mus. Helv.* x (1953) 166); Martin, 10 and 37, refers to the extraordinary post held by Eumenes.

<sup>51</sup> Lines 164 ff. On the meaning of λαοί see Braunert, *JJP* ix/x (1955/6) 299; cf. Vandersleyen, *CE* xlviii (1973) 339–49.

<sup>52</sup> A συγγενής was higher, but the rank is not attested before the 160s (see Chap. 1 n. 148) and therefore may not have existed when Hippalos was epistrategos.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. also the way the epistrategos, like other very high-ranking officials, is addressed by the sovereigns as ἀδελφός in OGIS 168.26 ff., and note especially the sovereigns' polite tone.

<sup>54</sup> On these powers see Bengtson, Chap. iv. Cf. Wilcken, quoted by Taubenschlag, *Opera Minora II* (1959) 608.

<sup>55</sup> It is quite possible that the ordinary nome strategos did not have authority over financial officials, who were directly subordinate to the dioiketes, cf. e. g. N. Hohlwein, *Le stratège du nome* (Pap. Brux. 9; 1969) 9 ff. Phommous certainly had such power over an oikonomos (UPZ 191–3), but he may have been acting as strategos of the Thebaid; for, unlike the nome strategos, there is every reason to suppose that the strategos of the Thebaid by the later second century had authority over all Thebaid officials (cf. *Inscr. Phil.* 19 and pp. 53–5 above).

all of them come from the Thebaid and in the majority of instances the epistrategos is also strategos of the Thebaid. This suggests the possibility that whereas the epistrategos had originally controlled the whole chora, at some later date his authority was confined to the Thebaid<sup>56</sup>. This impression is powerfully reinforced by the argumentum e silentio<sup>57</sup>. There are many examples of direct contact in the nomes of Middle Egypt between the central government and the nome strategos; never do we find an epistrategos intervening even at dates at which we know that the office was filled<sup>58</sup>. This is most striking in the middle of the first century, when we have an extensive archive from the Herakleopolite nome<sup>59</sup>. The complete absence of the epistrategos here, although the post was filled, suggests strongly that by this date he had no authority outside the Thebaid.

However, the difficulties do not stop there. On the few occasions after the time of Hippalos when an official has the title ἐπιστράτηγος by itself we learn nothing whatever of his powers<sup>60</sup>. In every occurrence in which an

<sup>56</sup> This is borne out by the frequency with which epistrategoi occur at Philai, whereas members of the central government are almost wholly absent, cf. Bernand, *Inscr. Phil.*, pp. 51f. and n. 9 above.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Martin 15–21.

<sup>58</sup> Thus we need make nothing of his absence in e. g. UPZ 111 (163), P. Lond. 45 (160/59), P. Berl. Zill. 1 (156/5) and P. Tebt. 6 (140/39), as there may very well have been no epistrategos at this time; but there is every likelihood that an epistrategos did exist when e. g. P. Tebt. 43 (118), UPZ 106, 108 (99) and SB 6152–3 (93) were written, yet he does not appear. Most disturbing of all is the absence of either an epistrategos or a strategos of the Thebaid in W. Chr. 11 of 123, when priests of Krokodilopolis in the Thebaid, who are complaining of violence they have suffered at the hands of inhabitants of Hermonthis, make their appeal direct to the hypomnematographos. Martin 54 suggested that a reference to the epistrategos may have occurred in the parts now lost towards the end, but this hardly seems likely. It is quite possible that there was no epistrategos at this date but a strategos of the Thebaid must have existed and the text is something of an embarrassment. Cf. *Inscr. Phil.* 12 bis (149/8? see Chap. 1 n. 71), where the king is apparently asked to take action directly through the hypomnematographos on behalf of priests in the Thebaid without reference to an epistrategos (who very likely did not exist then) or to the strategos of the Thebaid. Rather different is P. Strasb. dem. W.G. 18 (133): here one party in a lawsuit agrees to abide by the judgment given and not to bring an action again before the courts or before the strategos, epistates or other official. He makes no mention of the epistrategos, although the judgment to which he is referring was given by Boethos in his capacity as epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid. However, he is no doubt merely repeating a conventional formula, and as the epistrategos was certainly still an extraordinary official at this date (see p. 25), his omission is not difficult to understand.

<sup>59</sup> Published in BGU VIII. Cf. from the same period OGIS 736 (Fayum; 69/8) and W. Chr. 70 (Fayum; 57/6).

<sup>60</sup> In UPZ 162 I 17 Demetrios, called simply ἐπιστράτηγος, does have definite powers, but we have seen that ἐπιστράτηγος here is merely shorthand for ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος (pp. 78–9).

epistrategos does display power he has another office as well, that of strategos of the Thebaid, or in the case of Ptolemaios in 95, that of hypomnematographos<sup>61</sup>. What is more, as we have seen from our earlier researches, on every occasion he *could* be acting in virtue of powers he possessed through holding the other office; there is no occasion on which he exercises powers which can only have come from his post as epistrategos. Of course not only the Egyptian peasant but the government too would be inclined to speak of him as epistrategos<sup>62</sup>, and to imply therefore that his powers were derived from that office (and so it is reasonable enough for us today to speak of the powers of the epistrategos); but the fact remains that in the evidence which has survived of epistrategoï later than the time of Hippalos no example is to be found in which the power they are exercising must come from the office of epistrategos and can come from nowhere else.

This suggests a possible development along the following lines. Hippalos was epistrategos of the whole chora with far-reaching powers. He was not immediately replaced, the next example we know of being Boethos in the mid 130s and Boethos was already strategos of the Thebaid before he became epistrategos as well<sup>63</sup>. Now it is precisely at this time that we can first prove the existence of nome strategoi in the Thebaid, distinct from the strategos of the Thebaid<sup>64</sup>. With their introduction there may very well have been 'demarcation disputes' or doubt in the minds of the population as to the relative rank of these strategoi, and this could have led the government to accord the strategos of the Thebaid the additional title of ἐπιστράτηγος to mark his superiority; it would bring him no new power but would make clear that he was in control of the nome strategoi<sup>65</sup>. From this, conflation of two originally distinct offices would easily arise and could lead to the use of the titles στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος in that order by the petitioners in 115<sup>66</sup>.

This explanation would dispose of several of the difficulties, but unfortunately it will not do. Once civil strategoi in charge of several nomes had been introduced into the Thebaid we can hardly doubt that they became a permanent feature of the administration there. Yet we know that

<sup>61</sup> SB 7259; for instances of strategoi of the Thebaid see the list.

<sup>62</sup> ἐπιστράτηγος is no doubt used as the most honorific of the official's titles (as with Demetrios in UPZ 162 I 17).

<sup>63</sup> See pp. 91–3.

<sup>64</sup> See pp. 41–2.

<sup>65</sup> A suggestion on these lines is put forward by Jouguet, REG xxv (1912) 229f. In Roman terms we might say that his *imperium* was defined as *maius* in respect of the other strategoi.

<sup>66</sup> OGIS 168.49.

epistrategoi did not become permanent after Boethos<sup>67</sup>; there was a gap between him and Paos<sup>68</sup> and again when Lochos held the post of strategos of the Thebaid but was not epistrategos<sup>69</sup>. The second objection is even more serious. The explanation just proposed would entail that all epistrategoi from Boethos onwards were confined to the Thebaid. It is hard to believe this true of Apollodoros<sup>70</sup>, or of the man in P. Strasb. 98, harder still to believe it for Ptolemaios<sup>71</sup>, and quite impossible to believe it for the official in P. Tebt. 86 verso<sup>72</sup>: here we have an unequivocal example of an official with no other title but ἐπιστράτηγος functioning outside the Thebaid, and the date is right at the end of the second century.

Two things seem to me certain: (1) the epistrategos was originally an all-powerful official in charge of the whole chora; (2) subsequent epistrategoi whom we know of did not have such authority and we must therefore explain the differences as historical development – the office changed its character during the Ptolemaic period. There must have been some reason why the government decided in 135 to upgrade Boethos from strategos of the Thebaid to epistrategos as well. If this meant, so far as we can see, no addition to the powers he possessed<sup>73</sup>, its purpose may have been to extend these powers to an area which he did not already control, i. e. outside the Thebaid to the remainder of the chora. From this it would follow that the epistrategos was nominally at any rate in control of the whole chora<sup>74</sup>, and this brings us up even more forcibly against the difficulty that he seems to play virtually no part in its administration. The answer may be that in normal times the nome strategoi and the strategos of the Thebaid were perfectly capable of administering the chora and it was only in exceptional circumstances that the extraordinary powers of the epistrategos were

<sup>67</sup> Boethos was unquestionably an extraordinary appointment, see p. 25. Cf. too that in an enteuxis of 149 petitioners ask that instructions go directly to Boethos as strategos of the Thebaid, implying that there can have been no epistrategos (P. Lond. 610; information from Skeat).

<sup>68</sup> See p. 25.

<sup>69</sup> See pp. 115–16. Note also that Platon seems to have been strategos of the Thebaid but not epistrategos in 101 (pp. 117–18); possibly also Ptolion in 95, though this is much more doubtful (see p. 48).

<sup>70</sup> SB 1568, which comes from the Fayum.

<sup>71</sup> SB 7259, since he was hypomnematographos at the same time.

<sup>72</sup> Text in Appendix 1.

<sup>73</sup> Van 't Dack 1949, 44, says that the strategos of the Thebaid has no part in control over financial matters. If correct this would be an area in which granting him the title ἐπιστράτηγος did extend his powers, but this seems to me unlikely, cf. n. 55 above.

<sup>74</sup> Though perhaps this was not true of the later part of the first century, when he may well have been confined to the Thebaid.

needed. In normal times the post was therefore in practice a sinecure and for this reason it was possible to combine it with that of hypomnematographos or strategos of the Thebaid, posts which one would assume to have been full-time appointments. By at least the first century the government had come to feel it desirable to have a regularly appointed official with the latent far-reaching powers of the epistrategos, which could be activated when circumstances required it.

The whole development may have been something like this. In the third century, when nome strategoi were introduced, the Thebaid too was put under a single strategos who soon became, like them, a purely civil official. In the last few years of the third century and the early years of the second Egypt was plagued by revolts and the ordinary strategoi proved incapable of controlling them. Therefore Epiphanes took the step of introducing a single official with overriding civil and military authority throughout the chora, to whom he gave the title of ἐπιστράτηγος. The only holder of such a post known to us is Hippalos<sup>75</sup>. On his departure from office it was not immediately filled; no doubt the sovereign felt that the post gave its holder too much power, especially in the crisis years of the 160s when the Ptolemaic kingdom first experienced serious strife within the ruling house<sup>76</sup>. The next time we know the office to have been filled is in 135/4. It may very well be that the reason for its revival lies in the internal politics of this period. Once Euergetes II had married Kleopatra III in 142 and made her queen alongside her mother he can hardly have doubted that the latter would seize any suitable opportunity to seek to dethrone him. Furthermore, as the history of the conflict in 130 and the following years was to show, Kleopatra II enjoyed stronger support than the king in Alexandria and Lower Egypt<sup>77</sup>. Therefore, in promoting Boethos, who was already strategos of the Thebaid, to epistrategos Euergetes may have been seeking to create a strongpoint for himself in Upper Egypt as a counterweight to the strength which Kleopatra II enjoyed in the lower country<sup>78</sup>. It was certainly a dangerous move to give so much potential power to one man among his officials, but Euergetes could well have been driven to such a step by the greater danger threatening from within the royal house. If this

<sup>75</sup> It seems to me most unlikely that Hippalos had immediate successors, but there is certainly a possibility that he had predecessors, cf. pp. 112–13.

<sup>76</sup> It would be helpful if we could believe that Hippalos abused his position (cf. his use of σκέπη in P. Tebt. 750), but the respectful tone in which he is spoken of in UPZ 110. 164ff. would seem to rule this out.

<sup>77</sup> See pp. 21–2 and the bibliography there cited.

<sup>78</sup> Always assuming that Boethos was an appointee of the king and not of Kleopatra II (cf. p. 110).

theory is correct, his plan to some extent misfired; for Kleopatra II did succeed for a time in gaining control in part of the Thebaid, and Boethos was soon replaced, very probably because of his failure to do what the king had expected of him<sup>79</sup>.

It was not surprising that the strategos of the Thebaid should have been the official promoted to epistrategos. By about the middle of the second century (if not before) he was accorded military powers, presumably to enable him to control more effectively his troubled district, and his civil administrative load was relieved by the appointment of strategoi in charge of nomes within the Thebaid. Thus the Ptolemaic administration already contained in the strategos of the Thebaid an official who had all the requisite powers of the epistrategos; it needed but the according to him of the title ἐπιστράτηγος. The combination of the two posts was so common by 115 that the petitioners who drew up OGIS 168 felt no incongruity in referring to Hermokrates as στρατηγός καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος. Nevertheless epistrategoi who were not simultaneously strategoi of the Thebaid could and did continue. Perhaps about the end of the second century the government adopted the practice of filling at all times the post of epistrategos, so that there was regularly waiting in the wings an official with overriding authority in the chora should the need for him arise. From about the middle of the first century, if not somewhat earlier, it became standard practice to unite the posts of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid and we cease to find either epistrategoi who are not strategoi of the Thebaid or vice versa<sup>80</sup>. The Romans therefore found existing in the administration of Egypt an official called ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος, who had control over the whole Thebaid with authority superior to that of the nome strategoi. This official they took over, merely adapting his title slightly to ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος.

It must be stressed that this whole picture is only advanced as a hypothetical reconstruction. I should claim for it no more than that it is consistent with such facts as are known to us at present. Nevertheless the problem is intractable, not so much through lack of evidence as because the evidence tends at some point to thwart all conceivable explanations. It is certain that the last word has not been written on the intriguing problem of the Ptolemaic epistrategos. The enigma remains.

<sup>79</sup> There is the additional complication of the native revolt of Harsiesis at this time; see p. 111.

<sup>80</sup> Could we connect the introduction into the Thebaid of strategoi in charge of a single nome (Appendix 3)? Note too that the dioiketes is now a much more powerful figure than he may have been in the middle of the second century (see p. 28); we even find him in charge of a fleet in BGU 1744-6 (64/3).



## Chapter 4

### Prosopography

This chapter is divided into two sections. Section A contains a prosopographical study of all officials who are known for certain to have held the post of epistrategos in the Ptolemaic period. In section B I have more briefly discussed such persons as have to my knowledge at any time been alleged to have been epistrategoι, irrespective of whether I feel this suggestion to be probable, unlikely or impossible.

The list on pp. 120–2 records only those persons who are included in section A. The compilers of previous lists for the most part believed that the posts of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid were essentially the same and therefore included holders of both posts<sup>1</sup>. As I have argued in the preceding chapters, I follow Bengtson in believing that the two posts were basically distinct and I have therefore not included in my list those officials who are known to have held the post of strategos of the Thebaid only<sup>2</sup>.

#### *Section A*

##### *I. Hippalos*<sup>3</sup>

There is only one text which gives a firm date for him as epistrategos, P. Tebt. 895, which mentions a year 6<sup>4</sup>. Hippalos also appears as ἐπιστράτηγος in OGIS 103, a dedication to Philometor as sole ruler, which therefore belongs in the period 180–170. Consequently the sixth year of P.

<sup>1</sup> So Martin, pp. 173–8, PP I 186–202, Van 't Dack 1952, 442–5, cf. 441–2, M. Vandoni-Gli epistrategi, 5–12.

<sup>2</sup> Again following Bengtson, pp. 228–30, nos. 123–31; it will be noted that we are now able to increase the number of names known to Bengtson by almost fifty per cent – thirteen as against nine; the new names are Paos, Hephaistion, Dionysios and Kronios. For persons known to have held the post of strategos of the Thebaid see pp. 46–7.

<sup>3</sup> PP I 193. For a recent discussion of Hippalos and other second-century governors of the Thebaid see Mooren, *Ancient Society* iv (1973) 115–30.

<sup>4</sup> In the first publication (P. Tebt. 778) the year number was read as δ, but see Skeat, *Archiv Pap.* xii (1936) 40f.

Tebt. 895 must be 176/5<sup>5</sup>. If the papyrus does not belong in this year it must have been written very soon after. Furthermore the date of OGIS 103 can be narrowed down with considerable probability to 176–5 on the grounds that it refers to Philometer alone, with no reference to his mother or wife, and therefore is likely to have been engraved between the death of the former and his marriage to the latter<sup>6</sup>. This dating suits the evidence of several demotic protocols, which show that Hippalos was eponymous priest at Ptolemais from 185 to 169<sup>7</sup>. The name, without any title given (but obviously used of a person of importance), also occurs in a Fayum text of 174/3<sup>8</sup>; and Hippalos appears as an eponymous commander in about 173<sup>9</sup>. I do not doubt that all the above texts refer to Hippalos the epistrategos. More doubtful is another reference to a Hippalos as eponymous commander as late as 158<sup>10</sup>. It is quite certain that Hippalos had ceased to exercise his authority by 164<sup>11</sup> and the name is not uncommon<sup>12</sup>; nevertheless there is no doubt that eponymous commanders could be referred to after they had ceased to be on active service<sup>13</sup>, and I should be inclined to take this text as referring to Hippalos the epistrategos.

There is general agreement that he took up office, probably as first holder of the newly created post of epistrategos, after the ending of the

<sup>5</sup> Only Philometor's sole reign is possible: the sixth year of Epiphanes is too early and that of the joint reign with the later Euergetes II too late, as UPZ 110.164f. clearly implies that by 164 Hippalos had for some time ceased to hold office. 176/5 also fits the evidence regarding Hippalos as eponymous priest, see the text.

<sup>6</sup> See Skeat, loc. cit. 41f.; this seems more cogent than Otto's dating of the text to 181–79 (RE VIII 1659). The inscription has recently been republished by K. Herbert, Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum (1972) no. 8, who still prefers to accept Otto's dating. Recent demotic publications have indicated that the death of Kleopatra I lies between March and May 176, and the marriage with Kleopatra II between February and April 175, cf. Shore-Smith, JEA xlv (1959) 55, and Uebel, Arch. Pap. xix (1969) 75f.

<sup>7</sup> He is attested in most years and was no doubt priest continuously. See Thompson, Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith (1932) 30–33, and J. Ijsewijn, De sacerdotibus sacerdotisque Alexandri Magni et Lagidarum eponymis (1961) 41–7. Add JARCE iii (1964) 89–103 (175), E. Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Eheverträge (1960) 32 (181/76), and Zauzich (cited Chap. 2 n. 66) nos. 30 and 115 (184). All the texts are demotic.

<sup>8</sup> P. Tebt. 750; for the correct reading of the date (year 8) see P. Tebt. 895 intr. As the Hippalos mentioned there is exercising *σκέπη* (on which see below), he was clearly a man of consequence and therefore no doubt our Hippalos.

<sup>9</sup> P. Tebt. 853.17.

<sup>10</sup> P. Haun. 11 II 7: 'Ἀριστογένους τῶν μεθ' Ἰππάλου ἡγεμόνων; Larsen, ad loc., thinks the identification unlikely.

<sup>11</sup> UPZ 110.164–5: Ἰππάλου τοῦ τότε προκαθημένου τῆς χώρας.

<sup>12</sup> It is found in the Ptolemaic period in e. g. SB 599.147, 172 and 681.62. See also Preisigke, Namenbuch, and Foraboschi, Onomasticon Alterum Papyrologicum s. v., and Otto, RE VIII 1657–9 (cf. Chap. 1 n. 116).

<sup>13</sup> See pp. 56–7.

twenty-year long revolt in the Thebaid in 187/6<sup>14</sup>. In point of fact our evidence gives only two indications that Hippalos was in a position of responsibility earlier than 176/5: (a) the proof in the demotic texts that he was influential enough by 185 to be made eponymous priest at Ptolemais, and (b) a possible undated reference to him with authority in the Pathyrite, holding the court rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ<sup>15</sup>. The office he fills is unknown, but can hardly have been other than that of epistrategos or strategos of the Thebaid, and as he holds a lower court rank than he has in 176/5, it must date before this. He has been regarded as strategos of the Thebaid<sup>16</sup>, but it is perfectly possible that when Hippalos first became epistrategos he held only the rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ, subsequently advancing to that of τῶν πρώτων φίλων while still in the same post<sup>17</sup>. Whichever of the two posts he held at first, it is natural to suppose that he was appointed to it in or by 185, when he is first attested as priest at Ptolemais<sup>18</sup>; but there is no necessity to believe that he continued as epistrategos as long as he remained priest, i. e. until 169<sup>19</sup>. Ptolemais may well have continued to honour such a distinguished man, who had held one of the highest posts in the state, long after he had retired from his duties<sup>20</sup>; and we know that Noumenios was still recorded as eponymous priest at Ptolemais in 164, although he had ceased to be strategos of the Thebaid some four years previously in order to go on an embassy to Rome<sup>21</sup>. It is possible then that Hippalos was continuously epistrategos from 185 to 169, but this is far from certain<sup>22</sup>. If he really was

<sup>14</sup> See pp. 49–50.

<sup>15</sup> P. Lond. 610, cf. PP I 193. However, the papyrus reads simply ]λον τ[δ]ν ἀρχισωματο-φύ(λακα) and Skeat tells me that he has doubts about the correctness of the restoration 'Ιππα]λον. This same text does have two undated references to legal proceedings which have taken place ἐφ' Ἰππάλου; no doubt this is our Hippalos, but here he bears no title.

<sup>16</sup> So Peremans–Van 't Dack, *Historia* iii (1954/5) 343–5; doubtfully Van 't Dack 1952, 441 n. 2, and Mooren, *Ancient Society* i (1970) 11 n. 4; PP I 193 has 'archisomato[physi]aque et épistratège?].

<sup>17</sup> Just as Boethos advanced from ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ to τῶν πρώτων φίλων and then to συγγενής while remaining strategos of the Thebaid (pp. 91–2).

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Bengtson 121–2 and Mooren, loc. cit. (but I see no justification for his reference to a year 177/6).

<sup>19</sup> This inference is denied by Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, Addenda p. xx n. 10.

<sup>20</sup> All that UPZ 110.164–5 proves is that Hippalos had ceased to be in office in 164, but the wording there also implies that he finished his career honourably.

<sup>21</sup> See Peremans–Van 't Dack, loc. cit. (in n. 16) 342f. and *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 49–51, where I accept the identification proposed. On Polyb. xxx 16, which describes Noumenios as ἕνα τῶν φίλων when on the embassy, whereas he has the higher rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ in the Siut archive (BM eg. 10591 verso iii. 3/4), see *Stud. Hell.* cit.

<sup>22</sup> The long period in itself need cause us no concern, cf. the minimum of some twenty

an ad hoc appointment to deal with an emergency situation he could very properly have ceased to hold his post when the emergency was over.

The priesthood which Hippalos held at Ptolemais is called in a Greek inscription that of Πτολεμαίου Σωτήρος καὶ Πτολεμαίου Ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ Εὐχαρίστου<sup>23</sup>. It is impossible that such an important figure as Hippalos should have been burdened with the day to day routine of such positions and they must have been, at any rate for part of the years 185–69, honorary. In a private letter of 173 already referred to we hear of two persons ὑπὸ τὴν Ἰππάλου σκέπη<sup>24</sup>. Such σκέπη, whether technically legal or not, is a recurrent feature in Ptolemaic texts and seems not necessarily to have been viewed with disfavour by the government<sup>25</sup>. It is reminiscent of the way peasants sought the protection of large landowners in the Byzantine period and of Roman *clientela*.

There are three other texts in which Hippalos may appear as epistrategos, but in none of them is his name extant<sup>26</sup>. The first is a Tebtunis papyrus palaeographically belonging in the first half of the second century, which mentions τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ ἐπιστρα(τ )<sup>27</sup>. The only known epistrategos who was in the class τῶν πρώτων φίλων and who for certain had authority in Middle Egypt is Hippalos, and there is little doubt that the text refers to him<sup>28</sup>. The other two examples are much less plausible. One is an ostrakon, bought at Karnak, where the editor reads the first two lines τῶν πρώτων φίλων and στ]ρατηγοῦ respectively<sup>29</sup>. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the restoration [Ἰππάλου τῶν πρώτων φίλων/[καὶ ἐπιστ]ρατηγοῦ ἐπιτάξαν/[τος would give lines of similar length. The other is an inscription from Philai which mentions help procured for the temple from Nubians at the time of a χρεία<sup>30</sup>. The original editor argued that this χρεία

years during which Kallimachos held the post, but in rather different circumstances no doubt.

<sup>23</sup> OGIS 103.

<sup>24</sup> P. Tebt. 750.19.

<sup>25</sup> At least not in the case of Hippalos, see n. 20 above. On σκέπη see Chap. 2 n. 52.

<sup>26</sup> Van 't Dack 1952, 441 n. 2, suggests that the Hippalos mentioned in P. Grenf. I 37.17–18 is our man. If so its year 9 must be 173/2 (Grenfell, on palaeographical grounds, regarded it as probably 109/8).

<sup>27</sup> P. Tebt. 920.15. The restoration τῶν φίλων can safely be ruled out, as no epistrategos is known to have held such a low court rank.

<sup>28</sup> So the editors; cf. PP I 193.

<sup>29</sup> BGU 1468, dated 3rd/2nd cent. (but in view of the court rank 3rd cent. is impossible).

<sup>30</sup> Inscr. Phil. I 12 bis, originally published in BSAA xxxiii (1939) 325–32 by Segrè. Lines 2–4 are read and restored ἐν τῇ γεν(ε)θείῳ χρείᾳ, προσ[όδων δεομένων ἡμῶν, τὸν τότε ὄν]τα τῶν Αἰθιόπων ἐπάρχοντα Φοι[ . . . . . παρακαλέσας, ὁ στρα]τηγὸς ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν κατὰ μῆν[α σύνταξιν ἐπιδοθῆναι κτλ.

related to the years 188–6, and if so it is obviously possible that we should supply ἐπιστρά]τηγος in line 4, where the editions have στρα]τηγός, and refer the text to Hippalos<sup>31</sup>.

Something is known of the family. In the demotic protocols Hippalos is called son of *S'as* or *Sws*. This does not suggest any obvious Greek name, but it is unthinkable that a high official at this date and with the good Greek name of Hippalos<sup>32</sup> should have had a father with an Egyptian name<sup>33</sup>. The demotic may be an attempt to represent Σῶσος, which is attested often enough in the Ptolemaic period<sup>34</sup>. Other demotic texts give the priest at Ptolemais in 172/1 as *Thwmnts* son of *Hyplws*, certainly to be turned into Greek as Θεόμνηστος son of Ἰππαλος<sup>35</sup>. There can be little doubt that this is our Hippalos and that his son is the man who was strategos of the Thebaid, possibly while his father was still epistrategos, in 173<sup>36</sup>. It is possible that *Btr'a* daughter of *Hy[p]ls*, who was Athlophoros of Berenike at Alexandria in 190, was the daughter of the same Hippalos<sup>37</sup>; and there is a further possibility that his grandson became priest at Ptolemais in 164/3<sup>38</sup>. Clearly a family of some eminence, which suits the high post to which Hippalos was appointed.

## II. Boethos<sup>39</sup>

In this instance we can trace a career. We know that by at least 25 July 134 Boethos was συγγενὴς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος<sup>40</sup>. Before this he had for several years, at least from 149, been στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος

<sup>31</sup> If we cut out παρακαλέσας (note that Segrè p. 330 calls both these lines conjectural), there would be room for Ἰππαλος ὁ τότε ἐπιστρά]τηγος, ἐπάρχοντα will then be governed by ἐποίησεν and we must replace ἐπιδοθῆναι with a verb in the active; but I must stress that this is all highly conjectural. On the date of the inscription see Chap. 1, n. 71.

<sup>32</sup> An undated inscription from Abydos refers to a Ἰππαλος Ἐρετριεύς (Launey, op. cit. in n. 60, 1129 = SB 4966); on Eretrian fondness for names formed from ἵππος see Bechtel, *Hermes* xxxv (1900) 326ff.

<sup>33</sup> As W. Otto, *Priester und Tempel I* (1905) 194 n. 7, originally held (he is more cautious in *RE* VIII 1658); cf. Plaumann, *Ptolemais* (1910) 46 n. 5. Ijsewijn, op. cit. (n. 7) 143, remarks that no priest with an Egyptian name is known.

<sup>34</sup> See Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, and Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, s.v. Cf. Plaumann, loc. cit.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Skeat, loc. cit. in n. 4, and Ijsewijn, op. cit. 46.

<sup>36</sup> See pp. 113–14.

<sup>37</sup> Suggested by Skeat, loc. cit., cf. Ijsewijn, op. cit. 93.

<sup>38</sup> Suggested by Ijsewijn, op. cit. 93f.

<sup>39</sup> *PP* I 188.

<sup>40</sup> *UPZ* 210; also six days later in *UPZ* 204.

only, at first with the court rank of ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ<sup>41</sup>, then with that of τῶν πρώτων φίλων<sup>42</sup> and finally with that of συγγενής<sup>43</sup>. He thus had a career in the higher administrative posts for at least fifteen years. It seems very likely that we can trace a yet earlier stage in his career. He appears in two inscriptions from the far south of Egypt, both dedicated to Philometer and Kleopatra II and their children by military officers ὑπὲρ Βοήθου. In one he has the title τοῦ ἀρχισωματοφύλακος καὶ στρατηγοῦ<sup>44</sup>, in the other a fuller description as τοῦ ἀ[ρ]χισω[μ]ατοφύλακος καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ [κτί]στος τῶν ἐν τῇ[ι] Τριακοντασχοίνωι πόλεων Φιλομητορίδ[ος] καὶ Κλεοπάτρας<sup>45</sup>. These inscriptions belong to the period 163/45 and almost certainly to the latter part of this period<sup>46</sup>. Was Boethos already strategos of the Thebaid at the time of these dedications? If so it is remarkable that he is called only στρατηγός and does not have his full title<sup>47</sup>. It is true that there are one or two instances in which the strategos of the Thebaid is called στρατηγός tout court<sup>48</sup>, but absence of the correct form of address in a dedicatory inscription for all the world to see does not seem likely. It is distinctly possible therefore that at the time of these inscriptions Boethos was a different type of strategos, most probably one who had a sort of ‘Grenzkommando’ for the southern border of Egypt<sup>49</sup>. If this is correct these inscriptions must belong before 149.

<sup>41</sup> P. Lond. 610, where he is mentioned in Hathyr of year 33 = December 149 (information from Skeat). His title is στρ(ατηγός) τῆς Θη(βαίδος); Mussies, P. L. Bat. xiv, 15 no. 4, is therefore wrong to include him among nome strategoi in this text.

<sup>42</sup> P. Merton 5, undated.

<sup>43</sup> Arch. Pap. v (1913) 415–16 of 22 April 135. Bengtson, p. 100 n. 2, finds difficulty in this date, but when it is realised that P. Giss. 36 gives only a *terminus post quem* for Boethos as epistrategos (below, n. 51), the difficulty disappears: Boethos’ promotion to epistrategos fell after the inscription was put up and before the date of UPZ 210, 25 July 134 (so id., *Historia* viii (1959) 380).

<sup>44</sup> MDAIK xxvi (1970) 169–70, ed. Maehler.

<sup>45</sup> OGIS 111; probably the other dedication is earlier and was set up before the two towns were founded. Nothing further is heard of them. Boethos also holds priest-hoods, certainly of an honorary nature, on which cf. Préaux, op. cit. (Chap. 1 n. 3) 529 n. 4.

<sup>46</sup> On the date of OGIS 111 see Otto, *Zur Geschichte der Zeit des 6. Ptolemäers* (1934), 8 n. 5.

<sup>47</sup> See Martin 69, and cf. Van ’t Dack 1952, 445.

<sup>48</sup> See p. 33. In Arch. Pap. loc. cit. Boethos is referred to as στρατηγός without the addition τῆς Θηβαίδος (at a time when he most certainly *was* strategos of the Thebaid), but this is a statement from the royal chancellery in response to a petition (in which, if it were extant, we should no doubt find Boethos with his full title); the text is a parallel to OGIS 168.34 (contrast ll. 48–9) and Inscr. Phil. 19.7–8 (contrast ll. 33–4).

<sup>49</sup> See pp. 36–7. Bengtson 225 includes this special category of strategos, but does not reckon Boethos of OGIS 111 among them, classing him simply as strategos of the Thebaid (p. 226).

Boethos became epistrategos, as well as retaining the post of strategos of the Thebaid, between 22 April 135 and 25 July 134<sup>50</sup>. Several other references to him in this capacity unfortunately do not give us any additional chronological fixed points within these time limits<sup>51</sup>. We can only establish the date by which he ceased to be epistrategos by reference to the date at which Paos is known as strategos of the Thebaid, i. e. at least by 31 May 130 and almost certainly by the last weeks of 131<sup>52</sup>. It is unthinkable that Boethos should have relinquished his post as strategos of the Thebaid to Paos while continuing to hold that of epistrategos, so we can see from this that his tenure as epistrategos did not last long. It is noteworthy that he ceased to function just at the time of the appearance of the native usurper Harsiesis and of the dynastic struggle between Euergetes II and Kleopatra II, and this may very well be significant<sup>53</sup>.

We should probably add to the above references Inscr. Phil. 15. This is another dedicatory inscription, made to the reigning sovereigns by a phrourach, this time ὑπὲρ Β[— — —] καὶ ἐπιστρατήγου [— — —]ου τῆς Θηβαίδος. Since the reading of the *beta* is alleged to be more or less certain, it is no doubt to Boethos that the text refers<sup>54</sup>. Finally we find him as an eponymous commander in 134 and 129<sup>55</sup>. The dates are of some significance: in 134 he was still in office, but had relinquished his post by 129; therefore in this instance it seems to be proved that an eponymous commander could be spoken of both while still on active service and after he had retired<sup>56</sup>.

In the two dedicatory inscriptions discussed above<sup>57</sup> Boethos appears as Βοήθου τοῦ Νικοστράτου Χρυσαορέως. It is quite possible that his father was the

<sup>50</sup> See n. 43.

<sup>51</sup> P. Giss. 36.1–2, 37 II 21, 108.14, SB 4512.36–7 and 44, 4638.1, and P. Amh. 36.1–2. The only precise date mentioned is 29 September 134 (P. Giss. 37 II 21 (cf. 108.14) and SB 4512.36–7); P. Giss. 36 is earlier than this (on the year mentioned see P. Merton I, p. 26 n. 1), but gives only a *terminus post quem* (of 136) for Boethos as epistrategos, as does SB 4638 (originally dated 147/6 by Gerhard, SB. Heidelb. Akad. phil.-hist. Kl. 1911, Abh. 8, 7–11, but in view of what we now know of Boethos' career it must belong in 136/5, see Skeat, Archiv Pap. cit.); P. Amh. 36 is undated. He appears without a title in P. Ryl. 66 intr., which refers to a year 34, no doubt 137/6, see n. 65 below.

<sup>52</sup> See p. 94.

<sup>53</sup> See pp. 110–11.

<sup>54</sup> Bernard remarks on p. 150 'il semble . . . . que le bêta ne fait pas de doute', but he was unable to see the original and relies on Borchardt's copy. I should not accept that Boethos is thebarch in this inscription, see Chap. 2 n. 108. PP I 188 accepts the identification.

<sup>55</sup> P. Adler G. 1 II 1 and P. Cair. Goodspeed 6 II 2 respectively. Also in P. Heid. dem. 28 (Kaplony-Heckel cited in Chap. 2 n. 20), 2nd cent. undated.

<sup>56</sup> See pp. 56–7.

<sup>57</sup> OGIS 111 and MDAIK xxvi 169–70.

Nikostratos who is known as ὁ πρὸς τοῖς γράμμασι τεταγμένος (epistolographos?) in 202<sup>58</sup>. Χρυσαιορέως may be a demoticon; if so it is impossible to say whether it is of Alexandria or Ptolemais<sup>59</sup>. However, it is perhaps more likely that it refers to his Carian origin<sup>60</sup>.

### III. Paos<sup>61</sup>

Once again we are able to trace a career. We now know that Paos reached the position of συγγενῆς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος by at least 28 July 129<sup>62</sup>. Earlier, just like Boethos, he was merely strategos of the Thebaid, though always with the court rank of συγγενῆς. He is attested for certain in this post by 31 May 130 and several times subsequently<sup>63</sup>; but in a private letter of 15 January 130, where he is given no title, he is spoken of as being on the point of sailing up river to Hermonthis μετὰ δυνάμεων ἱκανῶν to put down a revolt, and so no doubt was already strategos of the Thebaid by this date<sup>64</sup>. Certainly earlier than these texts is the reference to him in a fragmentary Rylands papyrus, where he has the title τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ στρατηγός<sup>65</sup>. The editors would refer the year 34

<sup>58</sup> Polyb. xv 27; for the suggestion see Collomp, Chancellerie, 34.

<sup>59</sup> Bevan, *History of Egypt* (1927), 294 n. 3, is uncertain, but Kenyon, *Arch. Pap.* ii (1903) 77, includes it without argument among examples of a demoticon. Possibly Ptolemais: Plaumann, *Ptolemais* (1910) 23; possibly Alexandria: Schubart, *Arch. Pap.* v (1913) 85 n. 5. P. Jouguet, *La vie municipale* (1911), includes it under Alexandria in his list on p. 127, but remarks on p. 125 that it is quite uncertain which city it belongs to or whether it is a demoticon at all.

<sup>60</sup> So Dittenberger ad OGIS 111.4: manifesto ex Caria oriundus; see also V. Tscherikower, *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen* (1927) 12, who refers to Strabo xiv 2.25 (p. 660). Boethos' foreign origin is assumed without argument by Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I 88 with n. 334, who makes no reference to Χρυσαιορέως under Alexandrian demes (I 44–6). M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques* (1949) II 1028, classes Boethos as a Carian, and this is perhaps supported by a second occurrence of the epithet Χρυσαιορέως, this time from Abydos, to which he refers on p. 1218.

<sup>61</sup> PP I 197.

<sup>62</sup> UPZ 209.6–8. This, the sole text to give Paos the title ἐπιστράτηγος, was not published until 1957, hence all earlier writers speak of Paos as having been strategos of the Thebaid only.

<sup>63</sup> UPZ 208.1; also in UPZ 201.15f. of August/September 130, and in OGIS 132 of 4 October 130.

<sup>64</sup> W. Chr. 10; cf. UPZ 215 (22 March 130).

<sup>65</sup> The text is referred to in the introduction to P. Ryl. 66. The John Rylands Library has kindly supplied me with a good photograph of the unpublished part of this text, but I regret to say I have been no more successful than the first editors in wringing



which occurs there to the reign of Philometor (148/7), but there are strong grounds for preferring Euergetes II (137/6): the text seems also to refer to a year 38 and this can only be 133/2<sup>66</sup>, and the remarkable thing about Paos, as will be discussed below, is his Egyptian nationality; it is hardly conceivable that he should have attained the office of strategos before the pro-Egyptian policy instituted by Euergetes II after his restoration in 145. Whichever date is chosen Boethos, who also occurs in this text, must have been strategos of the Thebaid, so that Paos cannot yet have held this post. As the text refers to a lawsuit which so far as we can see was of a purely civil nature, I have little doubt that he was in fact a civil strategos in charge of several nomes in the Thebaid<sup>67</sup>. Paos' promotion to strategos of the Thebaid is presumably to be connected with the struggle against Kleopatra II, which broke out in 132/1<sup>68</sup>. His elevation to epistrategos lies between 4 October 130 and 28 July 129, that is to a time when the Thebaid had mostly been recovered (in so far as it was ever lost) by Euergetes. No doubt therefore this elevation was a reward to Paos for his faithful and successful efforts for the king. He cannot have been epistrategos for very long, since he must have relinquished the post by the time Lochos had become στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος, which is almost certainly by 127/6<sup>69</sup>.

any connected sense from it. There are two parts to the papyrus: A, which is joined to the right of the text of the document published as P. Ryl. 66, and B, which is now separate, but in the same hand as the unpublished column of A. As would be apparent from the remarks of the editors of P. Ryl. 66, we have a collection of documents relating to a civil lawsuit (ἐγκεκλήκαμεν ἀμπελω[ν- occurs in A 11, and -γ]εγραμμένους αἰτίας in B 5, as well as -]ποήμεθα ἐπὶ τὸν διοικητῆ[ν in B 14). It is the first document in A which has a fairly clear reference to the editors' year 34 – l. 8 τὸ λδ L δικασταῖς, where in l. 4 we also have Παῶι τῶν πρώτων φίλων, but here καὶ στρατηγῶι cannot be read after it. In l. 14, after a paragraphos and therefore clearly the copy of a new text, we have Παῶι τῶν πρώτων φίλων καὶ στρατηγῶι, perhaps followed by παρῆ, obviously a petition to Paos; and it is this second text which mentions Boethos (l. 19 -]μενοι ἐπὶ τοῦ Βοήθου, where the next two letters are certainly ex so that a title cannot have followed). Most important is that B 8 reads ]λη Φαμενώ[θ, which looks like a reference to a year 38; if so this can only be to the reign of Euergetes II.

In the first line of A the editors of P. Ryl. 66 suggested στρατηγῶι Ἐρυθρᾶ[ς θαλάσσης, which has obvious implications for the post of ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης (on which see pp. 71–2). Wilcken, however, quoted by Otto–Bengtson 214, rejected this and read δι' Ἐρυθρ[ου. The first editors' reading was, I think, nearer the mark: I should confidently read ]. ωι ερυθρ. [ and accept further that the broken first letter could be gamma. On the other hand I find Otto–Bengtson's argument against the first editors' supplement Ἐρυθρᾶ[ς θαλάσσης convincing.

<sup>66</sup> See the preceding note.

<sup>67</sup> See pp. 37–8.

<sup>68</sup> See pp. 21–2 and 110–11.

<sup>69</sup> See pp. 115–16.

Paos is unquestionably an Egyptian name<sup>70</sup>. It may be true that Hellenised Egyptians were beginning to take Greek names in the second century, but the converse is obviously much less likely to have occurred<sup>71</sup>. We are justified therefore in regarding Paos as an Egyptian<sup>72</sup>. There are very few examples, at any rate before the first century, of Egyptians filling positions in the higher, or even in the middle, echelons of the Ptolemaic administration<sup>73</sup>. The appointment of Paos to these high-ranking posts is undoubtedly to be connected with Euergetes' attempts to win the support of the Egyptian population in his struggle with Kleopatra II, partly to compensate for his lack of popularity at Alexandria<sup>74</sup>. It is noteworthy that on one occasion we find Paos with a Greek subordinate, Soterichos<sup>75</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> See C. E. Holm, *Griechisch-ägyptische Namenstudien* (1936), 100 n. 1, and cf. Otto-Bengtson 69 n. 4.

<sup>71</sup> My impression, however, is that there was little fusion of the races, that Greek families continued using Greek names and Egyptian families Egyptian ones, and that in consequence nomenclature is still a good guide to nationality even in the second and first centuries. Cf. e. g. Peremans, *Le Muséon* lix (1946) 241–52, who disputes earlier views that nomenclature ceases to have value as a guide after the third century.

<sup>72</sup> Note however that the name is apparently borne by a Jew in BGU 1282.6 = CPJ 46. It is presumably a slip when Martin (p. 5) says of epistrategoi 'tous de nationalité grecque' (although he did not know Paos as epistrategos he knew him as strategos of the Thebaid, a post which he regarded as identical, and he knew of Phommous, on whom see below).

<sup>73</sup> Most works which refer to this phenomenon content themselves with a reference to Paos and Phommous only (e. g., most recently, Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* II 168 n. 335). Note also Dionysios-Petosarapis, an important figure at the court of Philometor before his revolt in the 160s and certainly an Egyptian (see Otto, *op. cit.* (n. 46) 91); Imouthes, probably a dioiketes in the late third century (PP I 34, SB 7377); Tatas, the royal doctor in UPZ 162 II 25 (before 117); the Egyptian put in charge of Cyrene in the middle of the second century, see Bouché-Leclercq II 34, Bevan 300. Semeka, *Ptolemäischer Prozeßrecht*, 116, stresses the prominence given by Euergetes to the native court of laokritai (see P. Tebt. 5, with the editors' comments on pp. 19f.). P. Giss. bibl. 5 has a reference to Egyptians called up in or about 132/1, which may be an instance of enrolling native troops on the side of the king in the dynastic struggle, and in SB 6310 an Egyptian makes a dedication to Euergetes II and Kleopatra III, ignoring Kleopatra II, which suggests he supported the king's party during the upheavals. On the position of Egyptians in general cf. Bengtson, *Die Welt als Geschichte* xi (1951) 135–42, von Schwind, *Stud. Arangio-Ruiz* II [1953] 435–51, Zucker, *Gymnasium* lx (1953) 7–20, P. M. Meyer, *Heerwesen* 79–82, SEHWW II 882f.; and particularly on their holding positions in the administration, Peremans, *Le Muséon* cit., *Festschr. F. Oertel* (1964) 49ff., *Ancient Society* ii (1971) 33–45 and iii (1972) 67–76.

<sup>74</sup> The best discussion of this is by Otto-Bengtson, pp. 36ff. and 69ff.; the doubts expressed by Bevan, pp. 319ff., on the pro-Egyptian policy of Euergetes are unjustified. Cf. also the previous note.

<sup>75</sup> OGIS 132.4ff., where he is described as τῷ[v] ἀρχισωματοφυλάκων ὁ ἀπεσταλμένος ὑπὸ Παῶτος (in order to provide safe conduct in the desert region east of Koptos).

IV. (*Timar*)*chos*<sup>76</sup>?

In OGIS 133 we have a dedication to an epistrategos whose name was originally read MAPKON. Since this reading was made more of the stone has been lost and it has been alleged that only ON survives<sup>77</sup>. The original reading, which would imply that there had been a Roman epistrategos in second-century Egypt, must be wrong, and would not completely fill the first line of the inscription; therefore the suggestion was made that the true reading might be [Πολέ]μαρ(χ)ον (with a miscopying or mason's error resulting in *kappa* for *chi*)<sup>78</sup>. Others, however, have claimed to see ]χον and that Πολέμαρχον is too long for the available space; hence the alternative suggestions [Δή]μαρχον or [Τί]μαρχον<sup>79</sup>. We can hardly hope at this date to find a certain answer to this question<sup>80</sup>.

The full description of the official honoured is συγγενῇ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Εὐεργέτου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας καὶ ἐπιστράτηγον, which is the only clue to the dating. Euergetes has only one queen; if this is Kleopatra II

For Paos' position in the struggles of 132–29 we may perhaps compare the appointment of a native Egyptian commander Nechthyris, this time as a subordinate of Platon, at the time of the revolt in 88 (P. Bouriant 10–11, SB 6300).

<sup>76</sup> PP I 199.

<sup>77</sup> See Dittenberger ad loc. and Martin 174f.

<sup>78</sup> First suggested by Boekh and accepted *faute de mieux* by *inter alios* Dittenberger, Martin and Roussel-Launey, Inscr. Délos (1937) 1527.

<sup>79</sup> See the recent discussion and republication of the text in Fraser, Ptol. Alex. II 270 n. 191.

<sup>80</sup> The similarity between this text and Inscr. Délos 1526 is remarkable: both are the work of Romans, are dedicated at Delos, and give the man honoured almost exactly the same title; it is possible too that they were put up at the same time. Given this, when we then find Fraser stating (loc. cit.) 'my own examination of the stone confirms the letter *chi*, and if line 1 was symmetrically placed, not more than two letters will have been carved before it', we must seriously consider whether the true reading is not [Λό]χον, i. e. that Inscr. Délos 1527, like 1526, is a dedication to the well-known Lochos (on whom see pp. 115–16 below). There are difficulties: (a) the stone was originally alleged to read MAPKON and (b) Lochos is never known elsewhere as epistrategos, but only as strategos of the Thebaid; but these are not serious. Much more difficult is the following: the epistrategos of Inscr. Délos 1527 is attested at the time of Euergetes II and one queen only, no doubt Kleopatra III, and should therefore belong in the period 131–24, before the reconciliation with Kleopatra II (see above, pp. 21–2); Lochos, however, in Inscr. Phil. 19 is strategos of the Thebaid at a time when there were three rulers, so that this text must be dated after Inscr. Délos 1527. If Lochos were the official referred to in both texts we should have to believe that he was demoted from the post of epistrategos to that of strategos of the Thebaid, a most unlikely eventuality (unless this could be explained as part of the price Euergetes paid for the reconciliation he was able to effect with Kleopatra II). On the whole it seems wiser at present to adopt a more cautious approach and accept that the epistrategos of Inscr. Délos 1527 is not to be identified with Lochos.

the date must fall very shortly after his restoration in 145 and before his marriage to Kleopatra III<sup>81</sup>, but Dittenberger argued that the queen is Kleopatra III because of the similarity of the dedicators to those honouring Lochos in an inscription dating after 127<sup>82</sup>. This view has been regularly accepted. The inscription will in that case belong to the period of struggle between Euergetes and Kleopatra II, and Roussel therefore originally suggested a date of 131–124<sup>83</sup>. Now that we know that Paos was epistrategos in 129 we can narrow this down a little to 129–4. This is more or less exactly the period at which Lochos was strategos of the Thebaid<sup>84</sup>.

It is interesting that the dedication to him should have been made by two Roman *negotiatores* and that the inscription should come from Delos where the epistrategos qua epistrategos certainly had no standing<sup>85</sup>. There is, however, no reason to deduce from this that Roman traders were already penetrating Upper Egypt: the services he rendered them might have been at the time of the capture of Alexandria<sup>86</sup>, and there is nothing in his titulature to suggest that as epistrategos his authority was limited to the Thebaid<sup>87</sup>.

#### V. Apollodoros<sup>88</sup>

As epistrategos he survives in a single inscription, but Otto and Bengtson have argued at length for identifying him with the Apollodoros of SB 8036, which they date to 110/09<sup>89</sup>. Peremans and Van 't Dack, while rejecting some of Otto and Bengtson's views on the two texts and the identification, nevertheless accept the dating of SB 8036 to 110/09<sup>90</sup>. I believe that the

<sup>81</sup> Presumably for this reason Meyer, Heerwesen, 89 n. 323, puts it c. 144/3. If this were correct he would have been epistrategos at the time that Boethos was strategos of the Thebaid (which is not in itself impossible, cf. pp. 46–9).

<sup>82</sup> See his note to OGIS 133.4; cf. Martin 175 and Otto–Bengtson 102 n. 5.

<sup>83</sup> P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne* (1916), 82 n. 8; in *Inscr. Délos* 1527 no date is offered. PP I 199 is content with c. 127.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. pp. 115–16.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. SEHWW II 920f., and Otto–Bengtson 102f. Certainly at this date the Romans were acting as individuals.

<sup>86</sup> Suggested by Van 't Dack 1952, 442. Another similarity with Lochos!

<sup>87</sup> Nor is it a necessary inference from the inscription that the services rendered to the Romans were rendered by (Timar)chos in his capacity as epistrategos or even during the time when he was epistrategos.

<sup>88</sup> PP I 186.

<sup>89</sup> Otto–Bengtson 7ff.

<sup>90</sup> *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 11–21, esp. p. 18: this dating 'ne se heurte à aucune objection essentielle'. Otto and Bengtson are certainly right to reject Henne's suggested date of 107 (*Rev. Phil.* x (1936) 318ff.); still accepted as possible, along with 110, by

date assigned to SB 8036 is wrong, that the text must in fact date from the first century, and that the identification proposed is therefore impossible<sup>91</sup>. To my mind the most cogent argument against dating the text to 110/09 is that governors of a single nome in the Thebaid were not called στρατηγός at such an early date<sup>92</sup>.

Otto and Bengtson's identification of the officials called Apollodoros in the two texts depends partly also on their restoration of τροφεύς τοῦ βασιλέως in SB 8036. This must be considered along with the titles τροφεύς καὶ τιθηνός Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, which Apollodoros the epistrategos bears in SB 1568. Otto and Bengtson argue that the Apollodoros of SB 8036, who is a συγγενής and is mentioned in the inscription before his ἀδελφός, who is συγγενής καὶ στρατηγός καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς [Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς] θαλάσσης must rank at least as high, and that therefore the title he bore which is lost in the lacuna between συγγενής and στρατηγός τοῦ Διοπολίτου must have been of some importance. They suggest filling this lacuna with τροφεύς τοῦ βασιλέως<sup>93</sup>. The objections to this are twofold: (1) epigraphic. Since this restoration is very long, there are difficulties in filling the following two lines. In line 4 they get round this by introducing a second definite article before Ἰνδικῆς, which is against the pattern found elsewhere<sup>94</sup>, and in line 3 they suppose a long name or the introduction of αὐτοῦ before ἀδελφός<sup>95</sup>. (2) The Apollodoros of SB 1568 is epistrategos and the Apollodoros of SB 8036 only a nome strategos. It is essential therefore to the identification proposed that SB 1568 should date after SB 8036. Otto and Bengtson in consequence refer the βασιλεύς of SB 1568 to Alexander I and the υἱός to his son, the future Alexander II, thus enabling them to put the date of this

Mussies, P. L. Bat. xiv (1965) 27 no. 304: by this time double dates were being employed for the years of Kleopatra III and Alexander I, so that 107/6 is not year 8, but year 11 and 8.

<sup>91</sup> I am gratified to find that Mooren, *Ancient Society* iii (1972) 127–32, has reached the same conclusion. Doubts on the correctness of the dating of SB 8036 to 110/09 are already to be found in Bingen, *CE* xlv (1970) 377 n. 1, though Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* II 314 n. 398, still accepts this date.

<sup>92</sup> See Appendix 3.

<sup>93</sup> The text of SB 8036 which they finally arrive at (p. 22) is:  
[Ἰσίδι μητρὶ θεῶν μεγί]σστη Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ συγγενής καὶ  
[τροφεύς τοῦ βασιλέως] καὶ στρατηγός τοῦ Διοπολίτου καὶ  
[..... αὐτοῦ(?) ἀδ]ελφός ὁ συγγενής καὶ στρατηγός καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς  
[Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς] θαλάσσης. L η.

<sup>94</sup> See the titles borne by Kallimachos in the list. It seems to me very forced to suppose that the repeated article emphasises that there were two separate seas (Otto–Bengtson 6, cf. 215).

<sup>95</sup> The order would seem to rule out αὐτοῦ. Otto–Bengtson 18 indicate something of the difficulty they face here.

text, and so the date at which Apollodoros was epistrategos, later than 110/09<sup>96</sup>. To this it can be objected that Alexander II seems not to have borne this name until he became king<sup>97</sup>; and that on any natural reading of SB 1568 the offices of τροφεύς and τιθηγός must have been performed for the same person, whereas Otto and Bengtson find themselves driven to believe that Apollodoros was τροφεύς to Alexander I but τιθηγός to Alexander II<sup>98</sup>. To my mind these objections are fatal and there can be no doubt that the restoration τροφεύς τοῦ βασιλέως is to be rejected<sup>99</sup>. With the disappearance of this restoration the case for identifying the Apollodoros of SB 1568 with the Apollodoros of SB 8036 is severely weakened. The name is exceedingly common and all the two men have in common is the court rank of συγγενής. We can, however, go further than this. The usual view is that the βασιλεύς of SB 1568 is Euergetes II and the Alexander his son, the future king Alexander I<sup>100</sup>. There is no good reason to reject this view, so that we can date the inscription to the latter part of the reign of Euergetes II. However, this does not by itself serve to fix the date at which Apollodoros held the office of epistrategos. Peremans and Van 't Dack have argued that the offices mentioned in SB 1568 represent a cursus and are given in reverse chronological order; therefore the date at which Apollodoros was epistrategos was already past at the time the inscription was carved<sup>101</sup>. The reasoning which led them to this, on the face of it unlikely, conclusion<sup>102</sup> is principally based on the meaning of the words τροφεύς and τιθηγός: if we take them au pied de la lettre the office of τιθηγός will have come first in a child's life, followed by that of τροφεύς, so that the order in which the

<sup>96</sup> Cf. PP I 186, which gives the date as 'après 105'. This date is accepted in Vandoni, *Epistrategi*, 9; Bengtson 229 gives limits of 107–95/4.

<sup>97</sup> Otto–Bengtson 14–16 indicate this point but do not accept it.

<sup>98</sup> See esp. p. 17, where they allow that one would in this case expect τοῦ βασιλέως after τροφεύς, and are forced to the desperate suggestion that it may have dropped out through the carelessness of the stonemason.

<sup>99</sup> Doubts on the correctness of the treatment of this inscription by Otto and Bengtson were first expressed by Volkmann, *Phil. Woch.* lix (1939) 1007–9. Peremans and Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell. cit.* in n. 90, 18–21, also demolish the case for restoring τροφεύς τοῦ βασιλέως, themselves suggesting *ὑπάρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν*. To this they adduce parallels and it may very well be right; it is certainly attractive, not least because it results in a slightly shorter line, thus getting over the epigraphic difficulty.

<sup>100</sup> So originally Otto, *op. cit.* (n. 46) 3; also Martin 176 n. 1, and Hombert–Préaux, *CE* xiii (1938) 143f.

<sup>101</sup> *Stud. Hell. cit.* 11–15. They put the date of his office as pre 142 and find no difficulty in fitting him into the series of governors of the Thebaid (a post held by Boethos from at least 149), since they do not believe that he was an epistrategos of the Thebaid at all (esp. p. 15 n. 1; see also Hombert–Préaux, *loc. cit.*).

<sup>102</sup> Rejected by Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* II 190.

offices are mentioned in the inscription is the reverse of chronological<sup>103</sup>. This difficulty seems to me more apparent than real. The words τροφεύς καὶ τιθηνός, which mention two offices so closely connected as to be virtually the same, are, I think, to be taken as a composite expression for a single thing, in which case the order in which the words are used is immaterial<sup>104</sup>. I believe that Apollodoros was concurrently epistrategos and πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι, and that he held both these posts at the time the inscription was put up<sup>105</sup>. He may have been still τροφεύς and τιθηνός, but this is not essential<sup>106</sup>. A courtier who had been once dignified with the titles of τροφεύς καὶ τιθηνός to the king's son might well continue to bear these titles with pride after he had ceased to hold the position<sup>107</sup>. All we are left with to help us date Apollodoros is the fact that the reigning king was Euergetes II and that his son Alexander had been born<sup>108</sup>. Apollodoros' tenure of the office of epistrategos must therefore be fitted into the already crowded period in the latter part of the reign of Euergetes II.

## VI. *Demetrios*

In one of the papyri connected with the famous lawsuit of Hermias, Hermias states that he petitioned Demetrios τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ ἐπιστρατήγου on the occasion of his visit to Thebes; the visit is firmly tied to February/March 117.<sup>109</sup> A Philai inscription is a dedication made by Demetrios ὁ συγγε[ν]ῆς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος καὶ στρατ[ηγός τῆς Θ]ηβαίδος καὶ γραμματεὺς τῇ[ς]<sup>110</sup>. Are the two men one and the same? This was first suggested by

<sup>103</sup> Stud. Hell., loc. cit. It may also be argued that this explains the order in which the posts of πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι and ἐπιστράτηγος are mentioned in this same inscription: for if πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι was inferior to that of ἐπιστράτηγος (with which I should agree, see pp. 75–6), Apollodoros could have been promoted from this post to that of epistrategos. But I suggest that a much more natural reason for the order in which these two posts are mentioned is that in the Ptolemaic period the more important of two or more posts held concurrently was always given first (see p. 75).

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Otto, op. cit. (n. 46) 3 n. 1, Martin 73, and Pedrizet, ASAE ix (1908) 243–5 (the use of the two words where one would do is a 'façon de parler pompeuse et grandiloquente').

<sup>105</sup> Pp. 73–5.

<sup>106</sup> Thus Henne, REA xlii (1940) 178 n. 3, classes τροφεύς as a 'fonction réelle ou passée'.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Martin 74. Thus it is quite different from, for example, the post of epistrategos; I do not see how anyone could have continued to call himself ἐπιστράτηγος after he had ceased to hold the office without causing considerable confusion, cf. pp. 73–6.

<sup>108</sup> Probably by 142 or soon after, cf. Hombert-Préaux, loc. cit. in n. 100, and Volkmann, RE XXIII.2 (1959) 1744.

<sup>109</sup> UPZ 162 I 16ff.

<sup>110</sup> Inscr. Phil. 20.

Strack<sup>111</sup>, and has been universally accepted, with scarcely any hesitation<sup>112</sup>. Yet it surely hardly needs to be pointed out that Demetrios is not only a common name in itself, but was extremely common among the upper classes in Ptolemaic Egypt. Furthermore the inscription is undated. A possible pointer to its date is that it mentions an Apollonios τῶν διαδόχων καὶ φρουράρχου Φιλῶν. Another Philai inscription, which seems to belong about 135, is a dedication by an Apollonios τῶν διαδόχων καὶ φρουράρχος Φιλ[ῶν]<sup>113</sup>. Although it is not probable that we should identify these two men<sup>114</sup>, it is of interest that both have the low court rank of τῶν διαδόχων. The same rank is held by another phrourarch of Philai, who seems likely to have filled this post during the 140s<sup>115</sup>. In view of the way in which court ranks were being debased at this period<sup>116</sup>, it is perhaps unlikely that a phrourarch should have stayed in the bottom rank as late as 117. However, Henne has suggested that military officials may not have kept pace with civilians in the court ranks they achieved<sup>117</sup>, and this finds support in two inscriptions dedicated by phrourarchs of Elephantine: the first I believe belongs a little earlier than 149 and in it the phrourarch uses no court rank and so presumably had none<sup>118</sup>; while the second, in which the phrourarch is τῶν διαδόχων, is dedicated to Euergetes II and both the Kleopatras, implying a date after 124<sup>119</sup>. If the Demetrios of Inscr. Phil. 20 did not hold his office about 117, he must have preceded Boethos, since he holds the post of strategos of the Thebaid as well as that of epistrategos, i. e. we must put him back before 149<sup>120</sup>; it is perhaps unlikely that a mere phrourarch would have had any court rank at such an early date<sup>121</sup>. With

<sup>111</sup> Rhein. Mus. lv (1900) 184, where he suggests that the identification is 'wohl nicht zu kühn'.

<sup>112</sup> E. g. Martin 176, PP I 162 = 189, Bengtson 229 no. 126, Vandoni, Epistrategi, 8; also Bernand, Inscr. Phil. cit., although he remarks on p. 25, of this and other texts, that 'le rapprochement prosopographique demeure fragile'.

<sup>113</sup> Inscr. Phil. I 15; there is no doubt about the approximate date if the epistrategos there is to be read B[όηθος] (see p. 93).

<sup>114</sup> As we shall see, if the Demetrios of the inscription was not epistrategos in about 117 he must have held the post before 149, so that there is a considerable time gap in either case between the date at which the two Apollonioi are attested. Bernand tentatively suggests the identification in Inscr. Phil. I 15.5 n.

<sup>115</sup> Inscr. Phil. I 13 (but he is also ὑπάρχης ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν).

<sup>116</sup> Cf. Van 't Dack, Antidorum W. Peremans (1968) 267-9.

<sup>117</sup> REA xlii (1940) 182-4.

<sup>118</sup> MDAIK xxvi (1970) 169; on the date see p. 92.

<sup>119</sup> Ibid. 170.

<sup>120</sup> See pp. 91-2.

<sup>121</sup> Heroides, phrourarch of Syene, is τῶν διαδόχων at approximately the same date as MDAIK xxvi 169 in OGIS 111 (see p. 92) but he is also ἡγεμὼν ἐπ' ἀνδρῶν.



some hesitation I accept the received view that the Demetrios of the inscription is to be identified with the Demetrios of the Hermias papyrus. There is little or nothing to indicate to us how long before 117 he had been in office<sup>122</sup>; but he has ceased to function by 21 April 115, by which date Hermokrates had taken over the position.

In the inscription Demetrios is also a γραμματεὺς. What we are to supply after this is uncertain. The next letter is *tau*, then a broken letter before the lacuna; enough of this broken letter survives to make the reading *eta* inescapable<sup>123</sup>. It is therefore impossible to identify our Demetrios with his namesake who is γραμματεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων elsewhere<sup>124</sup>. Plaumann suggested we should supply τῇ[ς βουλῇς] and suppose that Demetrios was secretary of the βουλή at Ptolemais<sup>125</sup>. One may note that Kallimachos was ἀρχιπρύτανις καὶ γυμνασίαρχος there<sup>126</sup>; but one wonders whether a secretaryship of this nature would not have proved less of an honour and more of a burden than the posts which Kallimachos held<sup>127</sup>. Bernand has recently put forward the view that the post was religious, supplying τῇ[ς συνόδου]<sup>128</sup>. This may well be right. There is a superficial attraction in reading τῇ[ς δυνάμεως]<sup>129</sup>, but this makes what follows difficult to construe and in Egypt δύναιμις in this type of expression seems always to be plural.

### VII. *Hermokrates*<sup>130</sup>

In an inscription which is a composite collection of several documents (petitions to the sovereigns and their replies), the sovereigns send instructions to Hermokrates, epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid, on 21 April 115, but comparable instructions go to Phommous in August/September of the same year<sup>131</sup>. Hermokrates must therefore have been replaced as

<sup>122</sup> If he was always strategos of the Thebaid as well as epistrategos he must have followed Lochos (on whom see pp. 115–16). We must probably also make room for the epistrategoi (Timar)chos and Apollodoros between Paos and Demetrios.

<sup>123</sup> See Plate 41 in *Inscr. Phil. I*.

<sup>124</sup> UPZ 14.94–5 (157/8) – a post of considerable importance.

<sup>125</sup> Ptolemais (1910) 28, cf. 32f., so Martin 72; this reading is tentatively accepted in SB 3448 and by PP I 162.

<sup>126</sup> See p. 107.

<sup>127</sup> Cf. Bernand, ad *Inscr. Phil.* 20.4.

<sup>128</sup> Loc. cit.; he is reviving a suggestion of Strack, *Rhein. Mus. cit.* in n. 111.

<sup>129</sup> Suggested by De Ricci (see Bernand, loc. cit.). The Seleucids had an ἀρχιγραμματεὺς τῆς δυνάμεως, who was a very important figure, as Collomp, *Chancellerie*, 28f., points out.

<sup>130</sup> PP I 191; see also Otto, *RE VIII* (1913) 887.

<sup>131</sup> OGIS 168, 32–8 and 26–31.

epistrategos between these dates and it is tempting to connect the change-over with the visit of the ruling pair, Kleopatra III and Soter II, to Upper Egypt in the late summer of 115<sup>132</sup>. As Demetrios was still epistrategos in February/March of 117 Hermokrates did not hold the post for very long. Nothing further is known of him.

### VIII. *Phommous*<sup>133</sup>

In the inscription just quoted Phommous' titles are lost, but he is clearly a man of considerable importance, since the sovereigns address him as ἀδελφός and go on to make a cordial enquiry about his health<sup>134</sup>. Furthermore we know from other sources that he was epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid at about this time and the function he is envisaged as performing is precisely analogous to that performed by Hermokrates. We need not hesitate therefore to regard him as epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid in this inscription, a post which, as we have just seen, he took up during 115, at least by August/September of that year. He was still in this post on 6 February 110, when we have a petition addressed to him and his subscription<sup>135</sup>. He is also known as the recipient of a petition in the preceding year<sup>136</sup> and of another undated petition<sup>137</sup>, as well as appearing in an undated ostrakon<sup>138</sup>. Finally a Philai inscription refers to his γραμματεὺς<sup>139</sup>. We do not know how long after 110 he remained epistrategos.

The remarkable thing about Phommous is his nationality. Although a good deal has been written on Paos as representing a pro-Egyptian policy on the part of Euergetes II, very little has been said about Phommous. Yet the name is undoubtedly Egyptian<sup>140</sup>. It is very tempting to connect his appointment with the dynastic struggles which followed the death of

<sup>132</sup> Cf. Bevan 327; see also below, pp. 111–12.

<sup>133</sup> PP I 202.

<sup>134</sup> OGIS 168.26f. Such an enquiry on the part of the sovereigns is unique.

<sup>135</sup> UPZ 193.

<sup>136</sup> UPZ 191 (cf. 192).

<sup>137</sup> P. Lond. 401 (II p. 12).

<sup>138</sup> O. Tait P. 49.

<sup>139</sup> Inscr. Phil. 25 (undated); in view of the rarity of the name (see n. 140) the identification is virtually certain.

<sup>140</sup> See Holm, op. cit. (n. 70) 100 n. 1, Bevan 281. The nominative is certainly Φομμοῦς and not Φομμοῦτις, see Wilcken ad UPZ 191.1. The epistrategos is the only bearer of this name recorded in Preisigke, Namenbuch (Foraboschi, Onomasticon, has one additional reference), but both Φεμμοῦς and Πομμοῦς occur (e. g. P. Tebt. 1003.16 and 1076.20).

Euergetes II and regard it as a move on the part of Kleopatra III to win native support<sup>141</sup>.

### *IX. Ptolemaios*<sup>142</sup>

He appears as ὑπομνηματογράφος καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος in an inscription from the Fayum which belongs to 2 December 95<sup>143</sup>. Nothing further is known of him<sup>144</sup>.

### *X. Hephaistion*

His name occurs in an inscription from Philai which Bernand placed about the year 60 because of its physical position<sup>145</sup>. Since Kallimachos held the post of epistrategos for a number of years from 62, Hephaistion's tenure of the office must lie before this date, though probably not much before it; for with the correct reading of the name as Ἡφαιστίων<sup>146</sup>, it becomes virtually certain that he is to be identified with the Hephaistion known as dioiketes from 60–57 at least<sup>147</sup>. In the Philai inscription as well as being epistrategos he is διέπων τὰ κατὰ τὴν διοίκησιν. He must, I believe, have held these posts simultaneously and the latter means that he was acting dioiketes, no doubt as a temporary stop-gap measure<sup>148</sup>. Subsequently he was promoted to the post of dioiketes proper, and as this was a full-time job, he had to relinquish his position as epistrategos, no doubt to Kallimachos<sup>149</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> This suggestion is elaborated on pp. 111–12. It is interesting that in P. Lond. 401 Dryton's daughters use an Egyptian alias, as well as their Greek names, whereas elsewhere they have Greek names only.

<sup>142</sup> PP I 11 = 200.

<sup>143</sup> SB 7259.

<sup>144</sup> Collomp, Chancellerie, 46, suggests that he may be identical with the dioiketes of the previous year, but I regard this as most improbable.

<sup>145</sup> Inscr. Phil. 44.

<sup>146</sup> We owe this reading to Bingen, CE xlv (1969) 334–5; I do not claim to be able to see it on the plate (Pl. 71), but as Ἡφαιστίων is, as Bingen has demonstrated, a much more promising name than Ἡφαιστος, I do not doubt that it is correct. I do not accept Miss Vandoni's criticisms of Bingen (Epistrategi, 11–12), see Bingen's reply, CE xlv (1970) 370f.

<sup>147</sup> See Bingen, CE xlv (1970) 369 n. 4, which is to be preferred to P. R. Swarney, The Ptolemaic and Roman Idios Logos (ASP 8; 1970), 21–23.

<sup>148</sup> Bernand's suggestion (Inscr. Phil. I, p. 51) that he may have had financial authority as a local, i. e. Thebaid, official only is hardly likely to be right.

<sup>149</sup> See pp. 76–7.

*XI. Kallimachos*<sup>150</sup>

No less than six inscriptions refer to an epistrategos of this name<sup>151</sup>. The old view was that we have to do with one man who held the post for some thirty to forty years<sup>152</sup>. It is very difficult to accept that a man can have remained in such a position over so long a period, if only because he must have been very young when first appointed to such a senior post. One way to get round this difficulty is to suppose that we are concerned with more than one Kallimachos, a solution which has recently been advanced<sup>153</sup>. However, in a fundamental re-examination of the dating of the relevant texts Bingen has shown, to my mind wholly convincingly, that the period they cover is no more than eighteen to twenty-three years, i. e. from 62 to 44 or 39<sup>154</sup>.

This is still a long time, but by no means impossibly long. However, Bingen left it open whether we should think of one Kallimachos or two. He drew attention to the fact that on the revised dating Kallimachos, on the last two occasions the name occurs, is given the title ἐπιστράτηγος only, without the addition of στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος and of his other titles. This, he thought, might indicate some reorganisation of the administration of Upper Egypt or might refer to a different Kallimachos<sup>155</sup>. I do not believe there is any significance in the abbreviated title in these two texts: ἐπιστράτηγος in both of them is sufficient to identify the man concerned without the need to recount his full official position<sup>156</sup>. It is almost certain that all the texts we have been discussing relate to the same man. To make the

<sup>150</sup> PP I 171 = 194 = 418.

<sup>151</sup> See the list, pp. 121–2. The correct reading ἐπιστράτηγου in SEG XXIV 1217.24 is due to Wilhelm, *Αἰγυπτιακά* (SB Akad. Wiss. Wien, phil.-hist. Kl., 224, 1 (1946) 31); earlier texts had ἐπιστολογράφου. I accept that [Καλλιμαχος] is correctly restored in SB 2264, because titles are suitable. But I take no account of Milne, *Greek Inscriptions* 9246 = Arch. Pap. ii (1903) 557–8, no. 39, where Strack proposed the restoration [Καλλιμάχου τοῦ Καλλιμάχου]. This is accepted by Mooren, *Ancient Society* i (1970) 18, but rejected, I think rightly, by Bingen, loc. cit. in n. 147, 371 n. 4. See further on this text, Appendix 3 n. 30.

<sup>152</sup> This is still implied by the dates given in Vandoni, *Epistrategi*, 11. The problem has been created by the dating of SB 3926 to 76/5 and of SB 2264 to 78.

<sup>153</sup> Mooren, loc. cit. 17–24.

<sup>154</sup> Bingen, loc. cit. 369–77. Mooren, loc. cit. 23, n. 57, noticed the possibility but did not follow it up. Fraser's remarks, *Ptol. Alex.* II 189f. n. 82, were made without knowledge of Bingen's work which supersedes them.

<sup>155</sup> Bingen, loc. cit. 376–7; the relevant texts are SB 3926.13 and SEG XXIV 1217.24.

<sup>156</sup> This is well put by Mooren, *Anc. Soc.* iii (1972) 128 n. 14; for the description of the Ptolemais temple as that of Καλλιμάχου τοῦ ἐπιστράτηγου without further qualification one may compare the description of a temple in SB 7880 as τῆς Πτολεμαίου τοῦ συγγενοῦς.

evidence fit two men of this name we should have to suppose generations of only some twenty-five years and that the strategos of Perithebas honoured in 44/39 was still no more than thirty<sup>157</sup>; it is surely most unlikely that the honours showered on him in this inscription were being paid to one whose career was still in its infancy.

In the two earliest texts relating to him Kallimachos is in addition to being epistrategos and strategos also ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης, and in one he is θηβάρχης as well<sup>158</sup>. His titles appear in a somewhat garbled form, which may imply that he had only just succeeded to office (in 62) and the stonemason was still uncertain of the correct titulature<sup>159</sup>. In a third inscription his titles appear fully and no doubt correctly expressed, though here the date is uncertain and the year 51 cannot therefore be relied upon<sup>160</sup>. There can be no real doubt that Kallimachos was epistrategos continuously at least from 62 to 44, and it is interesting that he should have maintained his dominant position despite the troubles which occurred in the dynasty during the reigns of Auletes and Kleopatra VII.

The other official positions held by Kallimachos have already been discussed<sup>161</sup>. It remains to mention here that he is on one occasion found with the additional titles ἀρχιπρύτανις καὶ γυμνασάρχος<sup>162</sup>. Undoubtedly these municipal posts were held at Ptolemais, where we find on another occasion that he has dedicated a shrine to Isis<sup>163</sup>. They are best regarded as honours conferred on a distinguished son of the city by his fellow-citizens. In practice they may have meant real power for him in municipal affairs, but, as I have stated above, this could well be of a personal nature only, independent of his official position<sup>164</sup>.

We know something of the family<sup>165</sup>. His father, whose name is un-

<sup>157</sup> Cf. Bingen, loc. cit. 376. The inscription relating to Kallimachos the strategos is SEG XXIV 1217.

<sup>158</sup> Inscr. Phil. 52 and 53, both carved on 14 May 62 (for the form of titles see the list).

<sup>159</sup> Cf. Bingen, loc. cit. 372. Emendation could produce much better sense in both cases if one supposes careless errors caused by haplography: in Inscr. Phil. 52 by reading στρατηγός τῆς <Θηβαίδος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς> Ἰνδικῆς, and in Inscr. Phil. 53 ἐπισ[τ]ράτ[ηγο]ς [κ]αὶ <θηβάρχης τῆς> Θηβα[ίδος].

<sup>160</sup> Inscr. Phil. 56; on the date see Bernand, pp. 320–1, and Bingen, loc. cit. 372f. As the latter points out, the only likely alternative to year 30 is year 4, which would have to refer to 48, so that it would not affect our knowledge of the career of Kallimachos.

<sup>161</sup> Thebarch: pp. 69–71; ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης: pp. 71–2.

<sup>162</sup> SB 2264.6f. (always assuming that [Καλλιμάχος] is correctly supplied here).

<sup>163</sup> SB 3926.

<sup>164</sup> See pp. 60–1.

<sup>165</sup> See also Hutmacher, op. cit. (Chap. 1 n. 37), 2–13, and cf. Mooren cited in n. 153.

known<sup>166</sup>, is recorded as having given generous assistance to Thebes at a time of trouble. If he did this in virtue of an official position, we do not know what it was<sup>167</sup>. At any rate he must have been a man of considerable importance, which well suits the preeminent position attained by his son as epistrategos and by this man's sons in turn: one succeeded his father as epistrategos<sup>168</sup>; another was in charge of the nome of Perithebas, but as is clear from the inscription recording it, he was more than just an ordinary nome strategos – he is spoken of in quasi-regal terms<sup>169</sup>; while yet a third son attained the dignity of *συγγενής*, although no official position is known<sup>170</sup>. All in all what may fairly be called a ruling dynasty in Upper Egypt<sup>171</sup>.

### *XII. Dionysios*

That this is the correct form of the name, and not Dionysammon, we know for certain from the republication of the relevant inscription by A. Bernand<sup>172</sup>. He occurs in this inscription only and nothing further is known of him. The date, if correctly read, is Hathyr 21 of a year 14. There are arguments from the physical position of the inscription for referring this to the reign of Kleopatra VII and dating it 21 November 39<sup>173</sup>. But

<sup>166</sup> This needs emphasising since it has sometimes been assumed that his name too was Kallimachos, e. g. Wilhelm, *op. cit.* in n. 151, 31, Hutmacher, *op. cit.* 2 and 12, Fraser, *Ptol. Alex.* II 189 n. 82 (which depends on accepting the restoration [Καλλιμάχου τοῦ Καλλιμάχου] in Milne 9246; on this see n. 151 above).

<sup>167</sup> SEG XXIV 1217.24ff. I do not doubt that the father of the epistrategos was dead at the time this inscription was carved, which would account for the absence of any official title. But he could have acted in a personal capacity from his own resources, as his grandson apparently did later, cf. Wilcken, *Gr.* 364.

<sup>168</sup> See below, p. 109.

<sup>169</sup> SEG XXIV 1217; on the correctness of the restoration [στρατηγός] in l. 4 see below, pp. 132–3. As well he held the posts of ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων, γυμνασίαρχος (at Ptolemais? – but there was a gymnasium at Thebes where Kallimachos must presumably have been residing, Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*<sup>2</sup> (1971), 475 n. 14) and *ἐπιάρχης*. On his dominant position see Hutmacher, *op. cit.* 3f., Bouché-Leclercq II 223 n. 4 and III 166.

<sup>170</sup> *Inscr. Phil.* 61 (44). On the possible religious significance of the names of two of his sons (Kronios and Ision) see Holm, *op. cit.* (n. 70) 112–15.

<sup>171</sup> See esp. Hutmacher, *op. cit.* 2–7, and cf. Hippalos above. This may remind us of the way the great nobles of the Pharaonic period sought to keep the office of nomarch in the family, cf. E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* I<sup>7</sup> 2 (1954), para. 261.

<sup>172</sup> *Inscr. Phil.* 51. The earlier suggestion Διον[ύσιου] was due to Martin (p. 178) and is still retained in PP I 190, and Vandoni, *Epistrategi*, 10. Dunand, *CE xxxviii* (1963) 138 n. 1 (cf. Van 't Dack 1952, 444 n. 8), had already pointed out the inappropriateness of the name at this period, cf. Bingen, *loc. cit.* in n. 147, 377f.

<sup>173</sup> Bingen, *loc. cit.* 378, cf. Mooren, *Ancient Society* i, 20 n. 45.

they are not overwhelming, and we cannot reject as a possible alternative 28 November 68<sup>174</sup>.

### *XIII. Kronios*

With some hesitation I have felt it proper to include Kronios in Section A of this prosopography. This is based on Inscr. Phil. 58, where he appears as Κρόνιος Καλλιμάχου ὁ συγγενῆς κέπιστ(ράτηγος)<sup>175</sup>. It is of course possible that this last word is to be expanded κέπιστ(άτης) or κέπιστ(ολογράφος)<sup>176</sup>; but these seem to me such less likely alternatives that I have little doubt that Kronios was in fact epistrategos<sup>177</sup>. The date is not given. He is son of the Kallimachos known as epistrategos from at least 62 to 44/39, and his tenure of the office must therefore fall after this date. If we adopt the year 39 as a fixed point for Dionysios as epistrategos, Kronios no doubt held the post after him.

He also occurs in another inscription with the title συγγενῆς only<sup>178</sup>. This belongs to a year 2, which must be 56 or 50 and therefore falls within the period when his father was still epistrategos<sup>179</sup>.

The above survey does not enable us to make many general remarks on the length of tenure enjoyed by epistrategoi in Ptolemaic Egypt. There was obviously no fixed term, even after the date by which the office is likely to have been filled regularly, and no doubt holders served as long as it pleased the king<sup>180</sup>. Tarn has stated the view that holders of high posts in

<sup>174</sup> The date given by Bernand. His argument from the use of the term Παθουρίτης has some weight, but unfortunately we do not know exactly when this nome changed its name from Pathyrite to Hermonthite (cf. Jones, *op. cit.* (n. 169) 312). Mooren, who has touched on the problem most recently (*Ancient Society* iii (1972) 123), dates it after 52 B.C.

<sup>175</sup> The edition prints κέπιστ(ράτηγος); I have assumed this to be a misprint for κέπιστ(άτης), but I cannot claim to be able to verify this from the plate (Pl. 85).

<sup>176</sup> Cf. Bingen, *loc. cit.* 378.

<sup>177</sup> Nome epistatai in the Thebaid had ceased to exist by this date (see p. 133) and I doubt whether the member of such a powerful family would have been an inferior kind of epistates. As for the epistolographoi, while the post is certainly eminent enough for a son of Kallimachos, it is noteworthy that members of the central bureaucracy do not turn up at Philai (Bernand, *Inscr. Phil.* I, pp. 51–2), so that an epistrategos is much more likely.

<sup>178</sup> *Inscr. Phil.* 57.

<sup>179</sup> Cf. Bingen, *loc. cit.* 378, Mooren, *Ancient Society* i (1970) 21.

<sup>180</sup> The changeover of strategoi of Cyprus tended to keep pace with dynastic changes, cf. Mitford, *Opusc. Ath.* i (1953) 169f. and Stud. Calderini-Paribeni II (1957) 169.

the Hellenistic period either died in office or were transferred to another high post or were disgraced (they did not just retire)<sup>181</sup>. Our evidence for epistrategoi does not really serve to prove or disprove this. Two of our epistrategoi are known to have reached this post after some time in the lower ranks of the Ptolemaic civil service and so might be supposed to have ended their careers at this level<sup>182</sup>; whereas one other epistrategos was later promoted to the post of dioiketes<sup>183</sup>.

In two instances, however, we can date the changeover of holders of the office precisely enough to give rise to interesting speculations. First, Boethos and Paos: Paos had taken over by the latter part of 131 or at any rate during the first half of 130<sup>184</sup>. That is exactly at the period when Kleopatra II temporarily seized control of some sections of Egypt, including part of the Thebaid<sup>185</sup>. Paos was undoubtedly an Egyptian protégé of Euergetes II sent to take charge of the campaign against the queen in the Thebaid. Boethos had by this time already enjoyed a long period of service in the Ptolemaic bureaucracy and it would be in no way strange if he had died or if he was felt to be too old for the campaigning which was now necessary. But there are other possibilities. Boethos had begun his career under Philometor and had under him reached the post of strategos of the Thebaid. Under the restored rule of Euergetes he not only retained this position but was further promoted to become epistrategos in about 136/5. Yet he was a member of the Greek aristocracy, to whom in general Euergetes is known to have been hostile, and it is just conceivable that he may have thrown in his lot with Kleopatra II when she raised the flag of revolt in 132/1. In support of this may be adduced an inscription by the gymnasium at Omboi which refers to Boethos as strategos (of the Thebaid). When it was originally put up in 136/5 it was inscribed with the names of Euergetes II and of both Kleopatra II and III; but subsequently, and undoubtedly during the civil war of 131–27, the names of the king and of Kleopatra III were erased<sup>186</sup>. It is more likely that Boethos never became disloyal to the king, but merely proved incompetent. It is hard to believe that Kleopatra II would have been strong enough to get a protégé into the powerful position enjoyed by Boethos in 134, as epistrategos and strategos

<sup>181</sup> JHS liii (1933) 61f.

<sup>182</sup> Boethos and Paos, pp. 91–3 and 94–5 respectively.

<sup>183</sup> Hephaisition, p. 105.

<sup>184</sup> See p. 94.

<sup>185</sup> See pp. 21–2.

<sup>186</sup> Archiv Pap. v (1913) 410–16 (the erasure of Euergetes' name is a deduction, as the relevant part of the stone is lost).



of the Thebaid<sup>187</sup>. Euergetes must have known that a showdown between himself and Kleopatra II could not long be delayed, and it seems likely that he sought to establish Boethos in Upper Egypt to exert influence there on behalf of the king when the time came<sup>188</sup>. The idea that he could establish a strongpoint there would fit well with the king's known pro-Egyptian bias and with the fact that Kleopatra II's strength lay in and around Alexandria. But Boethos was faced at once with a native revolt<sup>189</sup>; this, plus the efforts made on behalf of Kleopatra II in the Thebaid, resulted in his failing to secure control of this region for Euergetes, and this in turn, we may believe, led to his dismissal and replacement by Paos, hopefully a more energetic and successful agent on the king's behalf.

Secondly, the changeover between Hermokrates and Phommous. This can be dated between 21 April and August/September 115<sup>190</sup>. It may very well be connected with the visit which the now ruling pair, Kleopatra III and Soter II, are known to have paid to Upper Egypt in the summer of 115<sup>191</sup>. It also falls in the period soon after the death of Euergetes II (28 June 116), when there is good reason to believe that there were once more serious dynastic squabbles and that Kleopatra II for a short time regained the ascendancy<sup>192</sup>. It is a plausible hypothesis that we have a Greek epistrategos espousing the cause of Kleopatra II<sup>193</sup>, and again he is ousted by an Egypt-

<sup>187</sup> Note that Boethos' name is still used as an eponymous commander in 129 (P. Cair. Goodsp. 6 II 2), which accords ill with the idea that he ended his career committing treason against what turned out to be the winning side. Euergetes II was not noted for his leniency towards those who opposed him!

<sup>188</sup> Cf. p. 85.

<sup>189</sup> See Koenen, CE xxxiv (1959) 103–19, who uses as the evidence for this revolt UPZ 199 (131), where a certain Harsieses is called θεοῖσιν ἐκτρός (sic, i. ἐχθρός), P. Karara I and II, and the exclusion of Panopolis from the amnesty of 118 (P. Tebt. 5). Cf. also his remarks on the Potter's Oracle in ZPE ii (1968) 191. The revolt had broken out by 131 and lasted at least into a second year. It may be this revolt, rather than the successes of Kleopatra II, which led to Paos employing troops against Panopolis in 129 (UPZ 209).

<sup>190</sup> See pp. 103–4. For a possibly significant changeover between Platon and Hierax in 88 see p. 119.

<sup>191</sup> Bevan 327, dates it 116/15, but it can be narrowed down more closely than this, see Lenger, C. Ord. Ptol. 57–60, intr.

<sup>192</sup> Otto and Bengtson have argued this at length and with great ingenuity, pp. 125ff. They would date her fall to December 116/March 115 (pp. 135f. and 138; cf. also Samuel, Ptolemaic Chronology, 147f.); if this is correct (and it is somewhat tenuous), and if Hermokrates was really her protégé, he will have survived her fall by a short period.

<sup>193</sup> If Kleopatra II did become preeminent on the death of Euergetes, she would naturally have reversed the policies of her hated spouse, and this may have included replacing his nominees in top jobs by her own. There is nothing in our knowledge of epistrategoi at this period to contradict the supposition that Demetrios was replaced in the office by Hermokrates on Euergetes' death.

tian, promoted by her rivals to win native support. If this is correct, and I must stress that it is advanced purely as a hypothesis, we should no doubt think of Phommous as the protégé of Kleopatra III, both because she was undoubtedly the dominant partner in the rule and because there is reason to suppose Soter II was never popular with the Egyptians<sup>194</sup>.

### Section B<sup>195</sup>

In SB 8257 reference is made to *Komanos* who has the court rank of τῶν πρώτων φίλων<sup>196</sup>. Year 18 to which the text refers must be 187 or 163 and all who have examined the text have given their preference to the earlier date<sup>197</sup>. If so Komanos must have been in a superior office to that of nome strategos, which is what the original editor supposed him to be. Peremans and Van 't Dack suggested that his competence extended beyond a single nome and that the position he held may have been that of epistrategos or something very similar<sup>198</sup>. In 187 his task was no doubt to bring back into subjection those areas in revolt from the central government<sup>199</sup>, and it was in the following year that the great revolt of the Thebaid ended. I should regard him as an official of extraordinary powers appointed in an emergency situation, which certainly in some ways approximates to the post of an epistrategos. What title he held while fulfilling this function we do not know<sup>200</sup>.

<sup>194</sup> Note the hard fight he had in the Thebaid region on his return in 88 (cf. p. 23).

<sup>195</sup> The principles according to which I have included persons in this section are set out on p. 87. I have not normally included officials known as strategos of the Thebaid; for a list of these see pp. 46–7.

<sup>196</sup> First published by Westermann, *Archiv Pap.* xiii (1939) 1–12. The relevant passage (ll. 8–9) in his edition reads Κομανὸν τῶν πρώτων [φίλων καὶ στρατηγὸν τοῦ Ἀρσι]-νοῖτ[ου].

<sup>197</sup> So Westermann, Welles, *BASP* ii (1965) 93–104, Peremans–Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 22–33 and *Historia* iii (1954/5) 344. In addition to the prosopographical argument Welles adds that the month of M[εσορῆ] is an unlikely one for the transportation mentioned in the papyrus, so we should probably read M[εχεῖρ] and in 163 Philometor was still in exile in this month.

<sup>198</sup> *Historia*, loc. cit. 'Komanos, qui semble avoir rempli une fonction se rapprochant de celle d' épistratège'; cf. *Stud. Hell.* cit. 23–8, which also mentions the possibility that Hippalos had predecessors as epistrategoi.

<sup>199</sup> Cf. esp. Peremans–Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* cit. See this article and those by Westermann and Welles cited above for the career of this well-known Komanos; also Heichelheim, *RE Suppl.* VII (1940) 332–4, 1625–6, and Solmsen, *C. Phil.* xl (1945) 115–16.

<sup>200</sup> I do not believe it necessary to insert any office in the passage quoted in n. 196. Cf. the way Noumenios is identified simply as ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ in SB 9108, and Lochos as συγγενής in UPZ 187.6–7.

Barguet has suggested that a hieroglyphic stele from the Thebaid is to be dated to 187 and that it refers to a possible epistrategos<sup>201</sup>. Both these suggestions are extremely hypothetical, nor do the official's titles as he translates them look very much like those of an epistrategos<sup>202</sup>.

In the Siut archive we meet *Theomnestos* in more than one section of the texts. On those occasions which belong to year 8, i. e. 173, he is 'strategos of the nome of Ne'<sup>203</sup>, but in another passage, which apparently belongs to year 11, i. e. 171/70, he is called simply 'strategos'<sup>204</sup>. This is complicated by the fact that he appears to have been succeeded as 'strategos of the nome of Ne' by Noumenios in 173<sup>205</sup>. If 'strategos' on each occasion relates to the same post his tenure of it must have been interrupted, which is an unlikely conclusion. Bengtson therefore suggested that on the later occasion, when he is called simply 'strategos', the demotic is inaccurately representing the Greek title of ἐπιστράτηγος<sup>206</sup>. Van 't Dack has offered an alternative solution<sup>207</sup>: accepting that the expression 'strategos of the nome of Ne' means in the case of Noumenios that he held the post of strategos of the Thebaid, he nevertheless believes that it means something different in the case of Theomnestos, whom he regards as a strategos in charge of certain nomes in the Thebaid. I find this unacceptable. I do not believe that such strategoi had been introduced into the Thebaid at this date<sup>208</sup>, but more particularly I find it impossible to believe that 'strategos of the nome of Ne' can mean two different things in the same papyrus, when all due allowance is made for the inaccuracy of demotic for translating Greek technical terms; and 'nome of Ne' elsewhere means, perhaps always, the Thebaid as a whole<sup>209</sup>. I have no doubt that in year 8 Theomnestos was strategos of the Thebaid and was succeeded in this post by Noumenios.

<sup>201</sup> IFAO, Bibl. d'étude xxiv (1953) 1–44, esp. 33–6. Egyptologists must judge the likelihood of Barguet's reconstruction.

<sup>202</sup> See further on possible predecessors of Hippias, Van 't Dack 1952, 440f.

<sup>203</sup> BM eg. 10591 recto i 23, iii 7 and 12, iv 22, ix 16. Apart from Thompson's edition I have used for these texts where possible Seidl's translation in Ztschr. f. vgl. Rechts. lxxix (1967) 96–117.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid. verso iv 2.

<sup>205</sup> Ibid. recto ii 3–4, iii 21.

<sup>206</sup> Bengtson 206; not accepted by Van 't Dack 1952, 442 n. 7.

<sup>207</sup> Stud. Hell. v (1948) 50–5; his views are accepted in Mussies, P. L. Bat. xiv, 27 no. 300b (the reference to him as strategos in P. Lond. 610 is undated; it does not belong to 170/69 as Mussies says).

<sup>208</sup> See pp. 42 and 45.

<sup>209</sup> In particular there are numerous examples in demotic texts of eponymous priests at 'Psoi which is in the nome of Ne'; this appears in Greek protocols as ἐν Πτολεμαίδι τῆς Θηβαίδος. See also P. Ryl. dem. III, p. 83 n. 8, Bengtson 206 and Volkmann, RE XXIII (1959) 1717.

Bengtson's view has some attraction, for there is a real difficulty here, and it is certainly possible that a demotic scribe could have employed 'strategos' of an epistrategos<sup>210</sup>. But his view becomes less attractive when we note that Noumenios too is elsewhere in the archive called simply 'strategos' and yet was undoubtedly strategos of the Thebaid<sup>211</sup>. There is, I believe, another way out of the difficulty. Theomnestos is alleged to appear in the archive on two separate occasions, yet in both he performs remarkably similar actions, receiving a petition and passing it on to be dealt with by the official in charge of the Lykopolite nome<sup>212</sup>. Furthermore the words which refer to year 11 are an interlinear gloss, and it is not certain that the section to which they belong has any germane connection with the previous section in which Theomnestos appears<sup>213</sup>. It does not seem to me to be necessary therefore to deduce from this passage that Theomnestos was in office in year 11; the reference to him could go back to year 8. If this is correct, Theomnestos was strategos of the Thebaid in 173 and in that year was replaced in this office by Noumenios<sup>214</sup>. All we know of his further career is that he was a priest at Ptolemais in 172/1<sup>215</sup>. He is undoubtedly the son of Hippalos the epistrategos<sup>216</sup>.

Henne tentatively suggested that *Onias* who appears in UPZ 110 may have been an epistrategos, drawing attention to the polite tone in which the dioiketes Herodes addresses him<sup>217</sup>. Handrock, who also remarks on

<sup>210</sup> In this same archive the demotic wrongly calls Timarchos 'strategos' on several occasions, when his proper title is 'epistates', see p. 133.

<sup>211</sup> BM eg. 10591 verso iii 3-4.

<sup>212</sup> Cf. esp. *ibid.* recto iii 12-14, a petition from Tefhape against Chratianch, and verso iv 3-4, a petition of Chratianch against Tefhape (see Seidl's translation).

<sup>213</sup> See Thompson's comments on col. iv of the verso of BM eg. 10591; lines 17ff., in which the reference to a year 11 is added over line 17, do not follow directly from lines 1-16. On p. xi Thompson marks Theomnestos' occurrence as strategos in year 11 with a query.

<sup>214</sup> Thompson believed that this was indicated by the expression 'went North' used of Theomnestos in BM eg. 10591 recto ii 2: as he was already operating in the Lykopolite, the most northerly nome of the Thebaid, this looks as though it means he retired or was promoted to another office; so Bengtson 98 n. 5. Van 't Dack thinks it can be explained by supposing the northern border of the Thebaid to have extended beyond the Hermopolite at this date (*Stud. Hell. cit.* 50f.); for objections to this see Appendix 2.

<sup>215</sup> Ijsewijn, *op. cit.* in n. 7, 46. He also appears in connection with a lawsuit at an unknown date prior to 149 in P. Lond. 610 (see Skeat, *Archiv Pap.* xii (1936) 42f.), with the title στρ[ατηγόν] or στρ[ατηγῆσαντα]; here too I should regard him as strategos of the Thebaid. This text guarantees that the demotic name found in the Siut archive represents Θεόμνηστος in Greek.

<sup>216</sup> Above, p. 91.

<sup>217</sup> REA xxxvii (1935) 25; in UPZ 110.1-19 the dioiketes expresses an elaborate wish for Onias' good health and uses καλῶς ποιήσεις and ἔρρωσο.

the tone used by Herodes and contrasts it with the imperatives he employs in addressing his subordinate the hypodioiketes, thinks Onias a strategos<sup>218</sup>. This would seem to be more likely<sup>219</sup>.

*Lochos* needs special consideration, because unlike the other strategoi of the Thebaid who, as far as we know, never became epistrategoi, he twice has the peculiar title στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς Θηβαίδος<sup>220</sup>. It is not impossible that this strange title does duty for the addition of ἐπιστράτηγος to στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος which some strategoi of the Thebaid have.

In other texts he appears once simply as συγγενής in a text from Thebes<sup>221</sup>, once as συγγενῇ βασιλεύς Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας at Delos<sup>222</sup>, and once as συγγενὴς καὶ στρατηγὸς τῆς Θηβαίδος<sup>223</sup>. I do not doubt that all these refer to the same man<sup>224</sup>. He is also found in five texts as eponymous commander<sup>225</sup>. At some time he was strategos of the Thebaid, but the precise dates are hard to fix<sup>226</sup>. UPZ 187 gives us a firm date of 127/6 for his tenure, but it is certainly not correct to deduce from the wording of this text that Lochos was then first entering on his office<sup>227</sup>. Inscr. Délos 1526 refers to benefits he conferred on Romans at the time of the κατάληψις of Alexandria, which fell in 127 or 126<sup>228</sup>; as there is only one Kleopatra in the text it must fall between this date and the reconciliation of Euergetes II

<sup>218</sup> Dienstliche Weisungen, 7 and 21–3, cf. UPZ 110.1n.

<sup>219</sup> Wilcken ad 110.1 and the editors of CPJ (who republish part of UPZ 110 as their number 132) also think Onias was a strategos (CPJ I p. 17). Bengtson 58 n. 3 rejects the idea that he may have been an epistrategos.

<sup>220</sup> Nos. 24 and 28 of the texts reedited by Mitford, *Opusc. Athen. i* (1953) 156–7 and 160–1 (= BSA lvi (1961) 1–41, nos. 75–6). *Ibid.* n. 92 on p. 159 has a good bibliography on Lochos; see also Peremans–Van ’t Dack, *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 40–5.

<sup>221</sup> UPZ 187.6–7.

<sup>222</sup> Inscr. Délos 1526.

<sup>223</sup> Inscr. Phil. 19.33f., cf. 7f. and 13.

<sup>224</sup> So Peremans–Van ’t Dack, *loc. cit.*, and Otto–Bengtson 101 n. 4; Wilcken ad UPZ 187.6 is doubtful of the identification of Lochos in this text with the man in the Delian inscription, but it seems most unlikely that there would be two men with the name Lochos both holding the rank of συγγενής at approximately the same time. He is not to be identified with Hegelochos (as e. g. Bouché–Leclercq II 74 thought), see Otto–Bengtson 100f. and 169f.

<sup>225</sup> P. Adler dem. 2.4 (124), P. Ryl. dem. xvii (p. 143) (118), xx (p. 149) (116), P. Ross. Georg. II 6.35 (113), and P. Heid. dem. 30 (late 2nd cent.) (Kaplony–Heckel, cited Chap. 2 n. 20).

<sup>226</sup> Bevan 312 n. 4, gives 127–4, and this is accepted by Bengtson 227. Mitford, *loc. cit.*, gives after 127.

<sup>227</sup> As Otto–Bengtson 101 n. 4 seek to do. The papyrus reads Λόχου τοῦ συγγενοῦς [ἐπι]βεβληγρότ[ος] εἰς Διὸς πόλιν [τῇ] Μεγάλῃ, which need imply no more than a routine visit, as does a similar expression when used of Demetrios in UPZ 162 I 16–17.

<sup>228</sup> See Otto–Bengtson 95 and 99ff.

with Kleopatra II in 124. By the time he is strategos of the Thebaid in Inscr. Phil. 19 all three rulers are on the throne, so that this inscription presumably lies between 124 and 116. As Paos was epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid in 129 Lochos must have served after him; and if Demetrios was strategos of the Thebaid as well as epistrategos in 117<sup>229</sup>, Lochos must have preceded him. This gives us extreme limits of 128–118. It may be that he was rewarded for his services to Euergetes in the civil war by the office of strategos of the Thebaid; but an alternative suggestion, that he served Euergetes in the recovery of Alexandria while already strategos of the Thebaid, has a strong attraction<sup>230</sup>. Note that at some stage he also held the post of hypomnematographos<sup>231</sup>.

His military authority is to be seen in the texts in which he occurs as eponymous commander, and Inscr. Phil. 19 is clear testimony to his overall control in the Thebaid<sup>232</sup>. In practice therefore his position must have come close to that of an epistrategos. Nevertheless I do not feel that we can deduce this from the title στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ<sup>233</sup>. It is to be noted that στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ is only found of Lochos in inscriptions from Cyprus and the same expression is used on one or two occasions of the strategos there<sup>234</sup>. Further, in one text Lochos has the strange epithet ὑπέρμαχος applied to him<sup>235</sup>, an epithet which similarly is applied once elsewhere to a strategos of Cyprus, and at about the same time<sup>236</sup>. It may, as Mitford thinks, mean 'King's champion' and emphasise the military nature of Lochos' position. Similarly I should regard the addition of αὐτοκράτωρ as more likely to be honorific than as indicating that he possessed special powers<sup>237</sup>.

<sup>229</sup> See pp. 101–3.

<sup>230</sup> The idea is due to Rostovtzeff, SEHWW III 1554 n. 201, cf. Volkmann, RE XXIII (1959) 1732; Martin 52, Collomp, Chancellerie, 35, and Otto-Bengtson 101 think he was strategos of the Thebaid after the recovery of Alexandria.

<sup>231</sup> In the inscriptions republished by Mitford, loc. cit. in n. 220.

<sup>232</sup> Esp. II. 22ff.

<sup>233</sup> The bare possibility that Lochos may have been epistrategos is suggested above in n. 80, but for quite other reasons.

<sup>234</sup> Nos. 16 and 26–7 in Mitford's article cited in n. 220. The dates are similar to those at which Lochos is known.

<sup>235</sup> No. 24 of Mitford's inscriptions (cf. no. 28).

<sup>236</sup> Of Krokos in no. 27 of Mitford's inscriptions.

<sup>237</sup> Dittenberger ad OGIS 147.7 and Mitford, loc. cit. 156, think it conveyed real power; contrast Cohen, op. cit. (Chap. 1 n. 1) 33f. I suspect that if it had meaning for the governor of Cyprus it had none for the strategos of the Thebaid and was erroneously used of Lochos by a Cypriot stone cutter, cf. Cohen, op. cit. 33 n. 6. See also Martin 36–9.

Two other supposed epistrategoi are in reality chimeras<sup>238</sup>. Two Cypriot inscriptions were originally read as dedications in honour of Λ[υκ]ουρ[γί]δα and [Ἀριστ]όμα[χον] respectively. New readings by Mitford have shown that the first certainly and the second possibly refer to Lochos<sup>239</sup>. In any case both accord the official concerned the title στρατηγός αὐτοκράτωρ τῆς Θηβαίδος, not that of ἐπιστράτηγος.

In the first publication of SB 8036 Reinach gave the following titles for *Apollodoros*: ὁ συγγενής καὶ [ἐπιστράτηγος] καὶ στρατηγός τοῦ Διοπολίτου, in which he was followed (hesitantly) by Henne<sup>240</sup>. The combination of the post of epistrategos with that of a nome strategos is never attested elsewhere and is inherently unlikely. Whatever the correct restoration may be, that of ἐπιστράτηγος is certainly to be rejected<sup>241</sup>.

The case of *Platon* needs to be examined in greater detail. In a papyrus of 101 and an undated ostrakon a συγγενής καὶ στρατηγός of this name occurs<sup>242</sup>. With them we should perhaps connect the Platon mentioned in an ostrakon of 106/5<sup>243</sup> and the reference to *Pltn* in a demotic text of about 97<sup>244</sup>. This strategos is in charge of a παράγγελμα and so unquestionably has military power<sup>245</sup>. We must therefore reject the view which sees in him a nome strategos<sup>246</sup>, and are left with the alternatives that he is either strategos of the Thebaid or a military strategos<sup>247</sup>.

A few years later, in 88, we have several letters either sent by or referring to a Platon who was obviously a figure of importance<sup>248</sup>; for example he has control over the civil authorities at Pathyris and his subordinate Nechthyrus possesses military power. Nechthyrus looks in fact rather like one of the ἡγεμόνες known as military subordinates of the epistrategos<sup>249</sup>,

<sup>238</sup> Yet both still appear in Miss Vandoni's recent list, pp. 5 and 8.

<sup>239</sup> Article cited in n. 220, nos. 24 and 28 (cf. p. 156), reedited by him in BSA lvi (1961) 1–41 nos. 75–6, cf. also id., Stud. Calderini-Paribeni II 174.

<sup>240</sup> Reinach, Rev. épigr. i (1913) 109–12, Henne, Rev. Phil. x (1936) 318–24. This text is retained in SB 8036; cf. Kees, RE VA (1934) 1576.

<sup>241</sup> The objections to ἐπιστράτηγος are convincingly demonstrated by Otto-Bengtson 6–10. On a possible supplement see above, n. 99.

<sup>242</sup> P. Adler G. 10.4 and W.O. 1535.6 (cf. Wilcken, Archiv Pap. viii (1927) 78).

<sup>243</sup> O. Tait Q 1 (Hermonthis).

<sup>244</sup> MDAIK xxi (1966) 163f., no. 32; there is no helpful context, but the papyrus is from the Thebaid.

<sup>245</sup> See Kruger in P. Ross. Georg. II 10, intr.

<sup>246</sup> Mussies, P. L. Bat. xiv, 26 no. 295, classes him as strategos of the Pathyrite.

<sup>247</sup> The suggestion that he may be a special military official is made by Oertel, apud Van 't Dack 1952, 444. His military authority fits in neatly with troop movements in the Thebaid attested at about this date (Archiv Pap. ii (1903) 515, cf. p. 23 above).

<sup>248</sup> P. Bouriant 10–12, P. Ross. Georg. II 10, SB 6300, P. Bad. 16; all the texts except P. Ross. Georg. II 10 are connected with the rebellion in the Thebaid in 88.

<sup>249</sup> Cf. SB 6300.11–12 and above, p. 56.

and it has reasonably been suggested that Platon, who never appears with a title but must have had an official position, was in fact epistrategos<sup>250</sup>. Others have seen in him a strategos of the Thebaid<sup>251</sup>. There is a further complication in that one of the letters of 88 is from a Πλάτων νεώ(τερος)<sup>252</sup>, which must mean that there were two brothers of that name; further, in this text Platon the younger is seen with civil power only.

There are two obvious solutions: first, that Platon νεώτερος is a nome strategos<sup>253</sup> and that all the other texts refer to the same Platon who was his elder brother<sup>254</sup>. It then becomes very hard to believe that this elder Platon can have been a special military commander, since such a post would naturally be thought of as temporary, not as lasting at least from 101 to 88. He may in that case have been strategos of the Thebaid for the whole of this period, or he may have at some time subsequent to 101 been promoted to epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid (as happened to Boethos and Paos before him)<sup>255</sup>. But note that there are some grounds for thinking that Ptolion was strategos of the Thebaid in 95<sup>256</sup>. The second possibility is that the elder Platon is the man known as strategos in 101, but that all the references in 88 are to the same Platon, the younger<sup>257</sup>. The difficulty here is that Platon specifically calls himself νεώτερος on one occasion but not on others, which should imply that the other texts do not refer to the younger brother. I should like to suggest a third solution, namely that there were three persons of this name<sup>258</sup>. The first was strategos (most probably of the Thebaid) in 101. Then in 88 two brothers called Platon simultaneously held high office in the Thebaid. The younger one was strategos of one or more nomes<sup>259</sup>, while the elder held a more important post with military as well as civil authority. It is not at all impossible that this elder Platon was epistrategos.

<sup>250</sup> E. g. Bevan 335 ('presumably'), Wilcken, *Archiv Pap.* vii (1924) 87, Collart, *Rec. Champollion* (1922) 280ff. and P. Bouriant pp. 55f., Henne, *REA* xxxvii (1935) 25.

<sup>251</sup> Bengtson 228 no. 122.

<sup>252</sup> P. Ross, *Georg.* II 10.

<sup>253</sup> So Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, *Suppl.* p. 10; cf. Mussies, *P. L. Bat.* xiv 21 no. 164.

<sup>254</sup> So Wilcken, *Archiv Pap.* viii (1927) 78.

<sup>255</sup> It should be borne in mind that Ptolemaios was epistrategos but not strategos of the Thebaid in 95/4 (see list).

<sup>256</sup> See p. 48.

<sup>257</sup> Cf. Wilcken, *Archiv Pap.* viii (1927) 78. This question cannot be settled palaeographically. Even if the hands in the letters were different, Platon would have had more than one amanuensis he could employ.

<sup>258</sup> The name is common enough, cf. Preisigke, *Namenbuch*, Foraboschi, *Onomasticon*, and Notopoulos, *C. Phil.* xxxiv (1939) 135–45.

<sup>259</sup> On the question whether the strategos controlled one or several nomes in the Thebaid at this date see Appendix 3.



In one of the letters sent by Platon in 88 he refers to a certain *Hierax* who is on his way to the Thebaid at the head of a body of troops<sup>260</sup>. Martin suggested that he was epistrategos<sup>261</sup>. The important thing about the reference to him is that he is the nominee of Soter II, who has now returned to wrest the throne from Alexander<sup>262</sup>. He may be a purely military commander given the job of ending the rebellion, but we cannot rule out the possibility that the post he enjoyed while fulfilling this task was that of epistrategos. And this is so even if we accept Platon the elder as epistrategos. For Platon was the nominee of Alexander and therefore may well have been suspect to the incoming government. It is then a possibility that Soter was sending Hierax to the Thebaid as his epistrategos to take the place of Platon<sup>263</sup>.

*Menkere*, mentioned in a demotic text of 54, has what appear to be civil and military powers and the editors describe him as 'apparently epistrategos of the Thebaid'<sup>264</sup>. Since, however, Kallimachos held the post at this date, this suggestion cannot be right; nor does he have the title epistrategos, but only that of strategos<sup>265</sup>. This last point applies also to *Lysimachos*, attested in a demotic stele, described by Henne as 'peut-être épistratège'<sup>266</sup>. He is no doubt a nome strategos of first-century date<sup>267</sup>.

Finally the epistrategos Dionysammon, who appears in earlier lists, is to be dismissed as a false reading<sup>268</sup>. The correct reading Διονυσίου has been given in the latest publication of the inscription by A. Bernard<sup>269</sup>.

<sup>260</sup> P. Bouriant 12.12–16.

<sup>261</sup> Martin 56 n. 2 and 177; Bengtson 107 n. 4 thinks it a possibility. Wilcken, *Archiv Pap.* vii (1924) 87, denies it, but solely on the grounds that Platon was then epistrategos, for which see the text.

<sup>262</sup> προχειρίσθαι means 'été designé', as Collart translates (P. Bouriant 12); the suggestion in the text does away with the difficulty felt by Martin 56 n. 2, and so with the need to reject the obvious meaning of the word.

<sup>263</sup> On an overlap in time between the reigns of Soter II (restored) and Alexander I see Samuel, *CE* xl (1965) 376–400, esp. 381–5.

<sup>264</sup> The Bucheum II, p. 68 (= O Bucheum 200): the translation of his titles is 'strategus, the syngenes, of the nome of Pathyris, etc.'.

<sup>265</sup> Cf. Van 't Dack 1949, 21–2. Like Van 't Dack, *ibid.* 17 n. 1, I ignore the suggestion by Edgar, *ASAE* xv (1915) 106, that [καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος] is perhaps to be restored in SB 6116.7; there is no justification for this.

<sup>266</sup> Liste des stratèges 40.

<sup>267</sup> See Bengtson p. 222 no. 99.

<sup>268</sup> The reading is suggested as a stop-gap by Martin 178. Dionysammon also appears in Miss Vandoni's list (p. 10), written before she could know the new reading by Bernard.

<sup>269</sup> *Inscr. Phil.* 51. For earlier doubts on the name Dionysammon see above n. 172. Hutmacher, *op. cit.* (Chap. 1 n. 37), 7, suggests that the position enjoyed by the ἑπαρχος Papius in OGIS 196 = *Inscr. Phil.* 63 (32 B.C.) may in practice have equalled that of an epistrategos.

*List of known epistrategoi*

| Name         | Title                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | Date                                                               | Reference                                                                           |
|--------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Hippalos     | τῶν πρώτων φίλων [καὶ] ἐπιστρατήγῳ<br>τῶν πρώτων φίλων τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου καὶ ἱερέως Πτολεμαίου<br>Σωτήρος καὶ Πτολεμαίου Ἐπιφανοῦς καὶ Εὐχαρίστου                                                                                           | 176/5 or later<br>176–5?                                           | P. Tebt. III 895.1<br>OGIS I 103.2–7                                                |
| Boethos      | συγγενεὶ καὶ ἐπιστρατήγῳ [καὶ στρατηγῷ τῆς Θηβαίδος]<br>[τῷ συγγενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρατήγῳ καὶ στρα(τηγῷ) τῆς Θηβα(ίδος)]<br>συγγενεῖ καὶ [ἐπιστρ]ατήγῳ καὶ στρ[α]τηγῷ τῆς Θηβ[αίδος]                                                            | after 137/6<br>after 137/6<br>135/131                              | SB I 4638.1<br>P. Giss. 36.1–2<br>P. Amh. II 36.1–2                                 |
| B[oethos]?   | [τοῦ συγγενοῦς] καὶ ἐπιστρατήγου [καὶ στρατηγοῦ .....]οῦ τῆς<br>Θηβαίδος                                                                                                                                                                   | 135/131?                                                           | Inscr. Phil. I 15.4–6                                                               |
| Boethos      | τῷ συγγενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρατήγῳ καὶ στρατ[η]γῷ τῆς Θηβαίδος<br>τῷ συγγενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρατήγῳ καὶ στρατηγῷ [τῆς Θηβαίδος]<br>συ[γ]γενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρατήγῳ [καὶ στρατηγῷ τῆς Θηβ[αίδος]<br>συγγενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρ(ατήγῳ) καὶ στρ(α(τηγῷ) τῆς Θηβα(ίδος) | 25 July 134<br>31 July 134<br>29 September 134<br>29 September 134 | UPZ II 210.4–7<br>UPZ II 204.2–3<br>SB I 4512.36–7<br>P. Giss. 37 II 21, cf. 108.14 |
| Paos         | τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ ἐπιστ[ρα]τήγου καὶ στρατηγοῦ τῆς [Θηβα]ίδος                                                                                                                                                                              | 28 July 129                                                        | UPZ II 209.6–8                                                                      |
| [Timar?]chos | συγγενῇ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου Εὐεργέτου καὶ βασιλίσσης<br>Κλεοπάτρας καὶ ἐπιστρατήγον                                                                                                                                                        | c. 127?                                                            | Inscr. Délos 1527.1–4                                                               |
| Apollodoros  | τὸν συγγενῇ καὶ τροφέα καὶ τιθηνὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως<br>καὶ ἐπιστρατήγον καὶ πρὸς ταῖς ἀνακρίσεσι                                                                                                                           | late<br>Euergetes II                                               | SB I 1568.1–4                                                                       |

| Name            | Title                                                                                                                    | Date                     | Reference                              |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Demetrios (I?)  | τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ ἐπιστρατήγου                                                                                           | February/<br>March 117   | UPZ II 162 I 17                        |
| Demetrios (II?) | ὁ συγγε[ν]ής καὶ ἐπιστρατάρχης καὶ στρατ[ηγ]ός τῆς Θ[ηβαίδος] καὶ γραμματεὺς τῷ[ς] συνόδου[ς]?                           | c. 117?                  | Inscr. Phil. I 20.2-4                  |
| Hermokrates     | [τῷ] συγγε[ν]εῖ καὶ στρατηγῷ καὶ ἐπιστρατάρχῃ τῆς Θ[ηβαίδος]                                                             | 21 April 115             | OGIS I 168.49, cf. 34 and 36           |
| Phommous        | [τῷ] συγγενεῖ καὶ στρατηγῷ καὶ ἐπιστρατάρχῃ                                                                              | August/<br>September 115 | OGIS I 168.20, cf. 26                  |
|                 | συγγενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρατάρχῃ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῆς Θηβαίδος                                                                      | 115/110                  | P. Lond. II 401.1-2 (p. 12)            |
|                 | [τῷ] συγγενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστ[ε]ρ[α]ρχ[ῇ] (τήγῃ) [                                                                             | 115/110                  | O. Petrie 49.6-7<br>(O. Tait I, p. 83) |
|                 | συγγενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρατάρχῃ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῆς Θηβαίδος                                                                      | 27 June 111              | UPZ II 191.1-2                         |
|                 | συγγε[ν]εῖ καὶ ἐπιστρατάρχῃ[ι] καὶ στρα(τηγῷ) τῆς Θηβα(ίδος)                                                             | 111/10                   | UPZ II 192.1-2                         |
|                 | συγγενεῖ καὶ ἐπιστρατάρχῃ καὶ στρατηγῷ τῆς Θηβαίδος                                                                      | 6 February 110           | UPZ II 193.1-3                         |
| Ptolemaios      | τῷ συγγενεῖ καὶ ὑπομηματογράφῳ καὶ ἐπιστρατάρχῃ                                                                          | 2 December 95            | SB III 7259.36-7                       |
| Hephaistion     | τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ ἐπιστ[ε]ρ[α]ρχ[ῇ] καὶ δ[ι]έ[πο]λ[ι]τος τὰ κατὰ<br>[τ]ῆν δ[ι]οικ[ησιν]                                  | before 62                | Inscr. Phil. I 44.2-6                  |
| Kallimachos     | ὁ συγγενής καὶ ἐπιστρατάρχης καὶ στρατηγός τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ<br>'Ερυθραῆς θαλάσσης                                         | 14 May 62                | Inscr. Phil. I 52.1-5                  |
|                 | ὁ συγγενής καὶ στρατάρχης [καὶ] ἐπιστ[ε]ρ[α]ρχ[ῇ] τῇ [καὶ] θηβα[ρχ]ῇ<br>[καὶ] ἐ[π]ι- τῆς [Ἐρυθρ]αῆς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς θαλάσσης | 14 May 62                | Inscr. Phil. I 53.1-3                  |

| Name                           | Title                                                                                                                                                  | Date            | Reference             |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Kallimachos                    | τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ στρατηγοῦ καὶ ἐπιστρατήγου καὶ θηβέεργου τῆς<br>Θη[β]αίδος [καὶ] ἐπὶ τῆς Ἰνδικ[ῆς καὶ] Ἐρυθρᾶς [θαλάσσης]                            | 22 February 51? | Inscr. Phil. I 56.5-9 |
| Kallimachos<br>(name restored) | ὁ συγγε[ν]ῆς καὶ στρατ[η]γός καὶ ἐπιστρατήγ[ος τῆς Θηβ]αίδος καὶ<br>ἐ[π]ὶ τῆς Ἐρ[υθρ]ᾶς καὶ Ἰνδ[ικ]ῆς θαλάσσης καὶ ἀρ[χιτ]εράνας [καὶ<br>γυμν]ασίαρχος | 1 July 49       | SB I 2264.1-7         |
| Kallimachos                    | τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου                                                                                                                                       | 7 March 46      | SB I 3926.13          |
|                                | τοῦ συγγενοῦς καὶ ἐπιστρατήγου                                                                                                                         | 44/39           | SEG XXIV 1217.24      |
| Dionysios                      | τοῦ ἐπιστρατήγου                                                                                                                                       | 21 November 39? | Inscr. Phil. I 51.6   |
| Kronios                        | ὁ συγγενὴς κέτιστ[(ράτηγος)]                                                                                                                           | after 39?       | Inscr. Phil. I 58.1-2 |

## Appendix 1

### P. Tebt. I 86 verso

In their edition of the Tebtunis papyri Grenfell and Hunt merely accorded the verso of P. Tebt. 86 a brief comment. From what they indicated it was apparent, however, that the text, albeit fragmentary, was of importance for the subject of the Ptolemaic epistrategos. The text is now in the possession of the Rare Books Collection, The Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, and I am most grateful to the Director for permission to publish it here<sup>1</sup>.

On the question of date Grenfell and Hunt merely say of the recto 'late second century', no doubt basing themselves on the general date for comparable pieces in the archive. The probability must be that such a date is near the mark. Shelton points out that ἀναχώρησις of κωμογραμματεῖς could be a result of the complaints in P. Tebt. 28 (not securely anchored to 114, cf. Grenfell and Hunt ad loc.), and that the appearance of Menches before the dioiketes (P. Tebt. I p. 182) might relate to the same affair, suggesting a date of c. 117/16 for our text. But as he stresses, this is all speculative. Note also the action against thirteen κωμογραμματεῖς of the Arsinoite nome attested in P. Tebt. 58 (111)<sup>2</sup>.

The important points which emerge are these: (1) the epistrategos is mentioned in a text from the Fayum and must be assumed to have had authority there; (2) the epistrategos cannot be Hippalos because of the date and συγγενής title, so that this is the only unequivocal evidence for an epistrategos other than Hippalos having authority outside the Thebaid; (3) the official had no title other than ἐπιστράτηγος and must therefore have been acting in virtue of powers which came from this post.

<sup>1</sup> Inv. no. UC 2585 verso. The text has been read for me by Professors A. Henrichs, J. G. Keenan, and J. Shelton, and I have done no more than check their readings against a photograph. The credit for this edition should therefore go to them, to all of whom I am most grateful. In the notes I have recorded some suggestions of Shelton's which are marked (S).

<sup>2</sup> The only firm fact is that the text falls after the introduction of the συγγενής title; but as this is in the early 160s (see Mitford, *Stud. Calderini-Paribeni II* (1957) 184, *Inscr. Kourion* (1971) pp. 93f.), it gives us no useful help.





P. Tebt. I 86 verso

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## Appendix 2

### The northward extension of the Thebaid

It may be supposed that we know the area of Egypt to which the term  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\iota\varsigma$  applied in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods or at any rate that we are sure of its northern boundary. Such confidence can however be easily dispelled. We need only think on the one hand of the papyrus of the Revenue Laws, which enumerates the nomes southwards up to and including the Hermopolite before grouping together the remainder of the country under the heading  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\iota\varsigma$ <sup>1</sup>; and on the other hand of the frequent references in papyri even as late as the second half of the second century A. D. to Oxyrhynchos as being in the Thebaid<sup>2</sup>. There are in fact no less than three places which need to be examined as possible northern limits of the Thebaid<sup>3</sup>.

(1) The papyrus of the Revenue Laws already alluded to fixes the limit as the southern boundary of the Hermopolite nome. In addition we know that there was a customs post in existence between the Hermopolite and Lykopolite nomes, which is clear proof that this ranks as an internal boundary in Egypt<sup>4</sup>. This boundary apparently went back to the New Kingdom<sup>5</sup>, and literary sources attest it from the second century B. C. to the first century A. D. Furthermore there is no doubt that for the Romans the term  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\iota\varsigma$  as an administrative district was confined to this area, since they had a separate name for the administrative area embracing Middle Egypt, namely

<sup>1</sup> P. Rev. = SB Bh. 1 (1952), col. xxxi, cf. cols. lx–lxxii.

<sup>2</sup> See below and n. 7.

<sup>3</sup> This problem has been strangely neglected; see however the discussion in Bengtson 91–4, and cf. Van 't Dack, CE xxiii (1948) 149, Stud. Hell. ix (1953) 44, n. 2, and my remarks in Proc. XII International Congress of Papyrology (1970) 465f. W. Gr. 8 n. 5 merely notes that the description of Oxyrhynchos in the Roman period as in the  $\Theta\eta\beta\alpha\iota\varsigma$  is 'noch nicht aufgeklärt'. Bevan 142, speaks of a province from Koptos south to the border, but I know no evidence which justifies this statement.

<sup>4</sup> Agatharchides, GGM I 122, sect. 22 (2nd cent. B. C.), Strabo xvii 1.41 (p. 813) and Pliny, NH v 61. See W. Gr. 8, L. Fiesel, Geleitszölle im gr.-röm. Ägypten = Nach. Gött. Ges. phil. hist. Klasse, 1925, 57ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bengtson 93.



Ἐπὶ νομοὶ καὶ Ἀρσινόιτης<sup>6</sup>. There is therefore no possible doubt that the term Θηβαίς, when used of an administrative area, *could* be limited to the area south of the Hermopolite and that this could apply throughout the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The question is, *must* Θηβαίς, when used administratively, be confined to this area only?

(2) The fact that the Hermopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes are alluded to as being τῆς Θηβαίδος has already been mentioned. The evidence is substantial for the Oxyrhynchite until well into the Roman period<sup>7</sup>; for the Hermopolite it is sufficient to show the use of this designation from the second century B. C. to the second century A. D.<sup>8</sup>. This seems to have been the survival of a development which took place during the Saite period<sup>9</sup>. This evidence is of course in flat contradiction to that cited under (1) above. The question to be answered therefore is whether there was a time during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods at which the term Θηβαίς could be applied administratively to the area of Egypt extending at least as far north as the Oxyrhynchite nome, or whether the expression τῆς Θηβαίδος when applied to this nome and the Hermopolite is always being used in a different, non-administrative, sense.

(3) Egypt was traditionally divided into two parts, Ἀνω Χώρα and Κάτω Χώρα, with the break being at the southern boundary of the Memphite nome, i. e. Upper Egypt embraced all the nomes northwards up to and including the northern Aphroditopolite (nome XXII of the old hieroglyphic lists)<sup>10</sup>. This old twofold division is still mentioned in the Ptolemaic period in royal decrees based on Pharaonic models<sup>11</sup>, and it is usually considered that in appointing two nomarchs to control Egypt Alexander was perpetuat-

<sup>6</sup> At least from the time of Vespasian. The extent of this subdivision of Egypt and the date of its institution will be discussed in the second part of this work; in the meantime cf. my remarks, loc. cit. 466-8.

<sup>7</sup> See Preisigke, Wörterbuch III Abschn. 16a s. v. The latest examples I have noted are P. Merton 18 (A. D. 161) and P. Oxy. 495 (reign of Commodus); it is unclear why the description drops out after this date.

<sup>8</sup> The evidence is SB 7632.4 (159/8), P. Rein. 13.1-2, 21.2 and 26.1-2 (all late second cent. B. C.), P. Ross. Georg. II 7.2 (108) and P. Flor. 81.1 (A. D. 103); cf. BGU 1222.59 (2nd cent. B. C.; Thebaid)?

<sup>9</sup> See Bengtson 93 and Kees, RE VA 1574.

<sup>10</sup> See, e. g., Jones, Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces<sup>2</sup> 295f. Wilcken (Gr. 8, esp. n. 3) seems to regard the division into two as between the nomes south of the Hermopolite (= the Thebaid) and the rest, but this is surely wrong, as the nome lists prove.

<sup>11</sup> E. g. the Rosetta stone, SB 8299.3; cf. W. Chr. 109.8-9.

ing this division into an Upper and a Lower Country<sup>12</sup>. Indeed we find that the term Ἀνω Χώρα could still be used in the Roman period<sup>13</sup>. Now it seems fairly certain that Κάτω Χώρα could be used as an equivalent of Δέλτα<sup>14</sup>. Is it then possible that Ἀνω Χώρα could be the equivalent of Θηβαίς and that Θηβαίς could be used of the whole of Upper Egypt up to the southern boundary of the Memphite nome? In favour of this is an inscription from the Roman period which contrasts οἱ ἐν τῷ Δέλτα τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἕλληνες with οἱ τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν νομὸν οἰκοῦντες<sup>15</sup>. If Θηβαίς could be used of the whole of Upper Egypt, including the area of the Fayum, it would still be possible to hold that all Ptolemaic epistrategoi were limited in their control to the Thebaid<sup>16</sup>. The epistrategos could in fact be regarded as the successor of the Pharaonic 'overseer of the South', who seems to have had charge of all nomes south of the Memphite<sup>17</sup>.

There are, however, serious objections to this view. A third-century papyrus contrasts Π]τολεμαίδι τοῦ Ἀρσινότου with εἰς τὴν Θηβαίδα<sup>18</sup>, and three Tebtunis papyri speak of troops going on an expedition from there εἰς τὴν Θηβαίδα in the reign of Euergetes II<sup>19</sup>. Furthermore movement to the Herakleopolite is contrasted with movement εἰς τὴν Θηβαίδα<sup>20</sup>. In

<sup>12</sup> Arrian, *Anab.* iii 5.2; cf. W. O. I 424, W. Gr. 9 n. 6, Henne, *REA* xxxvii (1935) 22, Bengtson, *Mus. Helv.* x (1953) 173, N. Hohlwein, *Le stratège du nome* (Pap. Brux. 9; 1969) 9f.

<sup>13</sup> P. Oxy. 2265.2 (A. D. 119) and PSI 1148.29 (A. D. 210), with Lewis' remarks, *AJP* lxxvi (1955) 63-4.

<sup>14</sup> For the equivalence see Strabo i 2.23 (p. 30) and xvii 1.4 (p. 788). It should perhaps be pointed out that Κάτω Χώρα cannot always have meant quite the same area in practice: originally it meant the whole of Lower Egypt northwards from the Memphite nome and including the Memphite (which was nome I of Lower Egypt in the hieroglyphic lists); but under the Romans (in, e. g., P. Oxy. 709) it did not include the Memphite, which was part of Ἐπτὰ νομοὶ καὶ Ἀρσινόιτης, nor, I believe, the Letopolite (see my article cited in n. 3).

<sup>15</sup> OGIS 709 (A. D. 149-54).

<sup>16</sup> Proof that an epistrategos had authority outside the Thebaid would then depend entirely on our accepting the words ὁ προκαθήμενος τῆς χώρας in UPZ 110.165 as a reference to Hippalos in his capacity as epistrategos.

<sup>17</sup> See H. Kees, *Nachrichten von d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Klasse*, 1932, 85ff., and E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums I*, 2 (1954), sect. 264, both of whom date the institution of this office to the sixth Dynasty. There seems, however, to be some doubt about the extent of this official's authority; cf. Griffith, *P. Ryl. dem.* III 65 n. 2 on Ptoῤῥēs, and Gauthier, *Rec. Champollion* (1922) 219-23.

<sup>18</sup> P. Petr. III xcii; cf. P. Enteuxis 27.2.

<sup>19</sup> P. Tebt. 62.43, 63.43 and 79.69.

<sup>20</sup> P. Hib. 110.77ff. (third cent.), cf. P. Strasb. 107.7 (third cent.; Herakleopolite) and P. Berl. Zilliacus 1.87 (156/5). For the Hermopolite cf. SB 599.52, an inscription from Hermopolis which may be taken to imply that its drafter did not regard the city as part of the Thebaid (the rubric ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαίδος is used).

addition the inscription alluded to above, which is the only positive evidence for the description of the whole of Egypt south of the Memphite as the Thebaid, oddly speaks of a *Θηβαϊκὸς νομός*; this does not inspire confidence in its accuracy in employing technical terms<sup>21</sup>. These points, coupled with an additional argument which we shall meet with below, suffice to disprove that *Θηβαίς* could ever in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods mean the whole of this area.

It remains to consider further the conflicting evidence brought forward in respect of sections (1) and (2) above. The likelihood is that *Θηβαίς* as an administrative district always meant the area south of the Hermopolite, as the case for this is the stronger. We have not only the evidence of the Revenue papyrus for the third century B. C., but also that of the Roman period, when it is certain that administratively both the Oxyrhynchite and the Hermopolite nomes were attached to the *Ἑπτὰ νομοὶ καὶ Ἀρσινόιτης*<sup>22</sup>. If this area was in existence as a separate administrative district under the late Ptolemies, the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes must have already then belonged to it and not to the Thebaid, and we do have an inscription from 50 B. C. in which a threefold division of Egypt, similar to that which became normal in the Roman period, already makes its appearance: *ἡ Κάτω Χώρα, οἱ ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν νομοὶ καὶ Θηβαίς*<sup>23</sup>. However, I should prefer to regard this as a geographical description only, not as indicating specific administrative areas<sup>24</sup>. Two other points suggest that administratively the Thebaid may at times have extended further northwards than the Lykopolite. (a) In the Siut archive Theomnestos, the strategos of the Thebaid in 173, is said to 'go North'<sup>25</sup> and, as he happened at the time to be functioning in the Lykopolite, this can only mean that he proceeded out of the Thebaid, if we define it as the area south of the Hermopolite. It has therefore been argued (since Theomnestos may be thought to reappear in office three years

<sup>21</sup> It is also possible that Dittenberger is right in taking the words *οἱ ἐν τῷ Δέλτῳ τῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἕλληνες* and *οἱ τὸν Θηβαϊκὸν νομὸν οἰκοῦντες Ἕλληνες* as a specific reference to the Greek cities of Naukratis and Ptolemais respectively (but there are difficulties in this: if the inscription comes from Greek cities only why does Hermopolis appear? and why should such an odd circumlocution be used to refer to Naukratis and Ptolemais?).

<sup>22</sup> At any rate from the date of the institution of this new province of Middle Egypt (at least by Vespasian, cf. n. 6). The Oxyrhynchite never became part of the Thebaid administratively, though the Hermopolite did in the reign of Diocletian (cf. P. Beatty Pan. 2).

<sup>23</sup> BGU 1730; on the date see Chap. 1 n. 45.

<sup>24</sup> See pp. 17–18.

<sup>25</sup> BM eg. 10591 recto ii 2; Thompson translates 'went north' and Seidl (above Chap. 4 n. 203) 'reiste nordwärts'.

later<sup>26</sup>) that his administrative competence extended north at least into the Hermopolite<sup>27</sup>. I prefer to believe that Theomnestos was in 173 replaced as strategos of the Thebaid by Noumenios and does *not* reappear in this office at a later date<sup>28</sup>. Therefore I accept the explanation that 'went north' means he quitted office, which fits the context admirably, since the petitioner thereupon transfers her plea to another official<sup>29</sup>. (b) In the third or second century we have a reference to an ἐπιστάτης who is quite possibly in charge of the Oxyrhynchite nome<sup>30</sup>. Now it is certain that by this date the official in charge of a single nome in Lower and Middle Egypt was a strategos; the epistates in charge of a nome is confined, it would appear, to the Thebaid<sup>31</sup>; therefore it could be claimed that the Oxyrhynchite was at this time administratively considered to be in the Thebaid<sup>32</sup>. This is a stronger argument, though certainly not conclusive; for it could well be that the Oxyrhynchite was not an independent nome at this time but part of a complex embracing the Oxyrhynchite and Kynopolite nomes<sup>33</sup>, in which case the epistates would not be a true nome epistates<sup>34</sup>. Nevertheless this does suggest that the northern border of the administrative district known as the Thebaid could vary in the Ptolemaic period, sometimes being fixed at the Lykopolite, sometimes extending at least as far north as the Oxyrhynchite<sup>35</sup>.

However, I believe this view can be refuted if we examine the occurrence in many documents of the names of the eponymous priests from Ptolemais as well as those from Alexandria<sup>36</sup>. These priesthoods first appear in documents from 215/14 and thereafter regularly for the next hundred years, but *only in documents from the Thebaid*<sup>37</sup>. The documentation is considerable, both Greek and demotic. I believe it shows conclusively that documents drawn up outside the Thebaid never included the priests at Ptolemais,

<sup>26</sup> In BM eg. 10591 verso iv.

<sup>27</sup> So Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* v (1948) 51.

<sup>28</sup> See pp. 113–14.

<sup>29</sup> So Thompson in the ed. pr., p. 14 n. 20 (accepted by Bengtson 98 n. 5).

<sup>30</sup> BGU 1242, see Van 't Dack 1949, 42–3.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Appendix 3 below.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* cit.

<sup>33</sup> The two nomes are united under one strategos in P. Tebt. 739 of 163 or 145.

<sup>34</sup> It would however be helpful if we had a parallel to an epistates in control of a subdivision of a nome (as distinct from a mere village): a possible example is mentioned in Appendix 3, p. 135. Another possibility, which I do not think can be ruled out, is that the epistates of BGU 1242 is only a village epistates.

<sup>35</sup> So Van 't Dack, *CE* xxiii (1948) 149 n. 4.

<sup>36</sup> The essential study is Ijsewijn, *De sacerdotibus*.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Ijsewijn, *op. cit.* 132 n. 2, *res adeo certa est ut numquam in dubium vocatum sit*, Pestman, *Chronologie* (P. L. Bat xv; 1967) 136, 'jamais attestés en Basse Égypte'.

whereas documents drawn up inside the Thebaid normally did. In that case it is significant that we do not have a single protocol from the Fayum in which the priests at Ptolemais are mentioned, nor do they appear in documents of a Herakleopolite origin<sup>38</sup>. This, it seems to me, is sufficient proof that *Θηβαίς* can never have meant for administrative purposes the whole of the Nile valley up to the Memphite nome. For the Hermopolite nome the evidence is hardly less clear: there is no example where a document originating there gives the priests of Ptolemais and this can hardly be written off as mere chance<sup>39</sup>. On the other hand documents from the Lykopolite do, as one would expect, have the Ptolemais priests recorded<sup>40</sup>. If the Hermopolite was not reckoned within the administrative district of the Thebaid, a fortiori the Oxyrhynchite was not, though the evidence is naturally not extant to prove this<sup>41</sup>.

How then do we explain the fact that both the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes are regularly spoken of as *τῆς Θηβαίδος*? The answer must be that the expression *Θηβαίς* is here being used in a geographical sense only<sup>42</sup>. If *Θηβαίς* was limited administratively to the area from the Lykopolite south it is natural that the geographical term should come to be used of that area also. This would leave a large part of Upper Egypt – the nomes south of the Memphite to the Hermopolite – neither in *Κάτω Χώρα* nor *Θηβαίς*. It is understandable therefore that there should have grown up a designation for them, namely ‘the nomes ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν’<sup>43</sup>. What is worth remarking is that this expression is used of both the Oxyrhynchite and the Hermopolite nomes<sup>44</sup>. It is not really surprising that such a confusion should have arisen<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> Numerous examples for the Fayum are to be found in, e. g., P. Tebt. I and III. For the Herakleopolite cf. P. Tebt. 816 (192), 810 (134) and 968 (undated).

<sup>39</sup> Texts from the Hermopolite and omitting Ptolemais priests include SB 7632 (159/8), even though Hermopolis is here spoken of as *τῆς Θηβαίδος*, and P. Rein. 14 (110), cf. P. Ryl. 252 (141/40).

<sup>40</sup> Thus he is to be found in BM eg. 10575 and 10594 (though omitted in 10593 from the same place; such omissions occasionally occur).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. however P. Oxy. 1723 (114/08).

<sup>42</sup> No doubt this goes back to a real administrative division in the Saite period, cf. above p. 126; but by the Ptolemaic period this is merely a survival with no administrative implications.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. BGU 1730 cited above. This expression is used regularly of the Herakleopolite nome, see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch III*, Abschn. 16a, s. v. Even in the pre-Ptolemaic period a special designation arose for this area, cf. Kees, op. cit. (n. 17) 98–102, on ‘die mittleren Gaue von Oberägypten’.

<sup>44</sup> Hermopolite: P. Flor. 86.1 (1st cent. A. D.) and P. Brem. 68.1 (A. D. 99); Oxyrhynchos: P. Hib. 95.5–6 (256 B. C.) ἐν Ὁξύρυγχων πόλει τῇ ὑπερθε Μέμφινως.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. the way in which *Κάτω Χώρα* could mean two slightly different areas (above, n. 14). In Great Britain there is great dispute as to where ‘the North of England’

From the above examination I should conclude: (1) the term Θηβαίς, when used in its administrative sense, always meant in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods the area south of the Hermopolite to the southern border; (2) the strategos of the Thebaid was limited in his competence to this area and therefore epistrategoi operating north of here must have authority outside the Thebaid; (3) the term is also used loosely to cover an area extending further north than this, but when so used with reference to the Oxyrhynchite and Hermopolite nomes it has no administrative significance.

begins, though for certain administrative purposes this needs to be clearly defined; and for the uncertain position of the Hermopolite and Oxyrhynchite nomes one may compare the doubt as to whether the county of Monmouthshire is to be reckoned a part of Wales or of England.

### Appendix 3

#### Governors of a single nome in the Thebaid

In Chapter 1, pp. 51–4 it was argued that the Ptolemaic administration originally included as governor of the Thebaid a single strategos, who could be known as στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος; but that at some stage, perhaps not until the 130s, other strategoi were introduced into the area as civil governors of several nomes. It seems clear that at some time there was a further development whereby the governors of a single nome in the Thebaid came to have the title στρατηγός, thus bringing the administration into line with that in the rest of Egypt. We may attempt to limit the time span within which this last change came about.

The administration of the Thebaid was in certain respects centralised in the third and second centuries<sup>1</sup>, but the area was always divided into nomes<sup>2</sup> and some of its administration was carried on at this level. In particular there was regularly an official with general charge over the administration of a nome who, in Greek documents, is not at first called στρατηγός but ἐπιστάτης or (less often) ὁ πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ or ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ followed by the name of the appropriate nome<sup>3</sup>. His duties no doubt corresponded closely to those performed elsewhere in Egypt by the nome strategos<sup>4</sup>. The list in PP I 374–89 gives a nome epistates as late as 42<sup>5</sup>; but the title is restored

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 51–2.

<sup>2</sup> See Jones, *op. cit.* (App. 2 n. 10), 300f.

<sup>3</sup> The evidence is collected and analysed by Van 't Dack 1949, 14ff. esp. 24ff., cf. Peremans–Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 18, Mooren, *Ancient Society* iii (1972) 130–2, and the lists given in PP I 207–389 and Bengtson 207–25.

<sup>4</sup> On the nome epistates see Engers, *Mnemosyne* xlv (1917) 258 n. 1, Zucker, *Gerichtsorganisation* 106–8, Wolff, *Justizwesen*<sup>2</sup> 176, and Peremans–Van 't Dack, *P. L. Bat.* xvii (1968) 99. Possibly the title is a survival peculiar to the Thebaid from a time before civil nome strategoi were created, when officials in charge of single nomes in the rest of Egypt may have been epistatai, cf. the epistates of the Libyan nome attested in the text published by Fraser, *BSAA* xli (1956) 49ff. = SB 10040 (283–78) (and esp. Fraser's remarks on pp. 52–3). On the status of ὁ πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, a lower position than that of a strategos proper, cf. Bengtson 30, with reference especially to P. Enteuxis 63.10, a man καταλειμμένος ὑπὸ Διαφάνους πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ, where Diaphanes is known from other texts as the strategos. Cf. also Handrock, *Dienstliche Weisungen* 9f., and the court ranks listed on pp. 43–4.

<sup>5</sup> Kallimachos, in the text now republished as SEG XXIV 1217.

and I have no doubt that the correct one to supply at this date is [στρατηγός]<sup>6</sup>. The only other example there recorded from the first century is the epistates τοῦ Εὐλιθυιοπολίτου from the year 88<sup>7</sup>; to this we shall return. The latest certain example of a nome epistates apart from this belongs to the year 112/11, when Hermokles is epistates of the Pathyrite nome<sup>8</sup>. We know that he was still in charge of this nome in 110, no doubt still with the rank of epistates<sup>9</sup>.

Of strategoi known in the Thebaid in the second century, other than the στρατηγός τῆς Θηβαίδος, we have already examined in detail several examples, and all of them who are to be classed as civil strategoi (Paos, Santobithys, Aineas, Diasthenes and Hermias) were in charge of a group of nomes<sup>10</sup>. Apparent exceptions can be explained away. In the Siut archive there are several references to Timarchos, the official in charge of the Lykopolite nome, in which he is called strategos, but on one occasion he is called epistates<sup>11</sup>. In my opinion the latter only can be right<sup>12</sup>. Sokrates in the same archive, also called strategos, is likely to have had a 'Grenzkommando'<sup>13</sup>. In their prosopography Peremans and Van 't Dack rank with strategoi Ammonios (Thinite; 118) and Ptolemaios (Peri Thebas; 162), but in fact both have the title ὁ πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ<sup>14</sup>. In three other examples which they give the title στρατηγός depends on a restoration and does not therefore give us the firm basis we are seeking<sup>15</sup>. This leaves as

<sup>6</sup> Hutmacher, *Das Ehrendekret*, 32f., was certainly right to revive this suggestion, first made by Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, 40; cf. Bengtson 222 no. 97. Bernand, *Inscr. Phil. I*, p. 309, still accepts the restoration [ἐπιστάτης].

<sup>7</sup> P. Ross. Georg. II 10 = PP I 388.

<sup>8</sup> UPZ 189 (= PP I 378). 112/11 is a terminus post quem for the text.

<sup>9</sup> UPZ 193; cf. UPZ 191 (111). In neither of these texts does he have a title, but his instructions (to look into a complaint made to the epistrategos) are of the type normally sent to an official in charge of a nome, so that the natural assumption is that he was still functioning as a nome epistates.

<sup>10</sup> Pp. 33–42.

<sup>11</sup> Strategos: BM eg. 10591 recto ii 3, iii 14 and 20, iv 23, v 7; epistates: verso iv 4.

<sup>12</sup> On the doubtful accuracy of his demotic title of 'strategos' cf. Henne, *Liste des stratèges*, p. xx, Van 't Dack 1949, 32f. Could the confusion have arisen from the use of ὁ πρὸς τῇ στρατηγίᾳ as the Greek description of his office?

<sup>13</sup> Above, p. 36. He is apparently replaced by an epistates, cf. Van 't Dack 1949, 31f.

<sup>14</sup> PP I 210 (PSI 166–72, where see the introduction on his status and Bengtson 56 n. 1), and 314 (see Chap. 1 n. 237). I should certainly not rank as a strategos Ammonios ἐπὶ τοῦ Λυκοπολίτου in 128 (P. Med. 31), cf. above.

<sup>15</sup> Lykiskos (before 165) (P. Lond. 610, see PP I 275); Menandros (131–24?) (SB 8389 = PP I 280): I do not believe the restoration [ἐπιστάτου καὶ στρατηγοῦ τοῦ Ὁμβίτου] can stand, an unparalleled combination of offices (he may have been strategos of several nomes, an epistates of the Ombite, or lines 4–6 of the inscription may even relate to more than one person; see Henne, *op. cit.*, suppl. pp. 17–18, and



the only second-century example SB 8036, where Apollodoros is strategos of the Diopolite nome<sup>16</sup> at a date given as 110/09<sup>17</sup>. A strategos of a single nome at a date at which, as we have just seen, nome epistatai almost certainly still existed, will at once arouse our suspicions, as will the very high court rank of συγγενής which Apollodoros bears. In fact it can be demonstrated beyond doubt that SB 8036 cannot belong in 110/09, but is most likely to belong to 74/3<sup>18</sup>. One further alleged instance needs to be mentioned: it has been thought that Parthenios was strategos of the Thinite nome in 118<sup>19</sup>, but even if he was, he could well have controlled other nomes as well, and in fact we do not know what official position he held<sup>20</sup>. There are therefore no examples from the second century, at any rate in Greek texts, of the official in charge of a single nome in the Thebaid having the title στρατηγός.

In the first century there are two strategoi known in the first decade, Ptolemaios, who is attested for the Apollonopolite nome in 98<sup>21</sup>, and Ptolion, who occurs in the Pathyrite in 96/5<sup>22</sup>. In neither case, however, is there any necessity to suppose that the area under the control of these strategoi was limited to a single nome; indeed there is a possibility that Ptolion is strategos of the whole Thebaid<sup>23</sup>. In the next decade there is a possibility that Paniskos, whose title is [σ]υγγενοῦς καὶ στρα[τηγο]ῦ τοῦ Πανοπολίτου and who is therefore to be classed as a strategos of a single nome, was in office in the period 88–81<sup>24</sup>. The date, however, is not beyond doubt and the rank of συγγενής which the official has suggests that the text is later than another inscription in which the governor of the Pathyrite nome is no higher than τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγ[ενέσι]<sup>25</sup>; this belongs to

esp. Peremans–Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell.* ix (1953) 1–10, who restore [ἐπιστάτου τοῦ Ὀμ]βίτου; Ptolemaios (pre 169/8?) (P. Lond. 227b, see PP I 313, where the reading στρα[τηγός] καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προσόδων is tentatively suggested; cf. Henne, *op. cit.* 35).

<sup>16</sup> Certainly of the Lesser Diopolite, as there never was a Greater Diopolite nome (Thomas, *JEA* l (1964) 139–43).

<sup>17</sup> PP I 216.

<sup>18</sup> See Mooren, *loc. cit.* in n. 3, 127–33, who refutes Otto–Bengtson's attempt (pp. 1–22) to date the inscription to 110/09. The rank of strategos which Apollodoros bears reinforces Mooren's points.

<sup>19</sup> Otto–Bengtson 9 n. 2, cf. Henne, *op. cit.* 41.

<sup>20</sup> See above, p. 41.

<sup>21</sup> BGU 1346, cf. 1363.

<sup>22</sup> P. Lips. 104, with Berichtigungsliste I.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 48.

<sup>24</sup> *Inscr. Phil.* 38; the date is lost, but the position of the inscription points to the reign of Soter II restored according to Bernand.

<sup>25</sup> Milne, *Greek Inscriptions* 9246 (PP I 267); cf. Mooren, *loc. cit.* in n. 3, 130ff., and n. 30 below.

80/69. It is unfortunate that the nome governor's official title here is lost, but it is likely to have been στρατηγός. At any rate by the year 78 we have a clear example of a strategos in charge of a single nome in the Thebaid, namely Pelaias whose title is συγγενής καὶ στρατηγός <καὶ> νομάρχης τοῦ Ὀμβίτου<sup>26</sup>.

The evidence therefore suggests that the change whereby officials in charge of a single nome in the Thebaid were upgraded from epistatai to strategoi lies between 110 and 78<sup>27</sup>. Within this period lies the case of Psenapathes, who is called ἐπιστάτης τοῦ Εἰλιθυιοπολίτου in 88<sup>28</sup>. At first sight this would seem to prove that nome epistatai survived until this date. But this is questionable because of the doubtful status of the Eilithyopolite nome. By the Roman period this area was certainly part of the Apollonopolite; there is only one other example of it as a nome, and that doubtful<sup>29</sup>. Nor is there any proof that it was ever separately administered<sup>30</sup>. We could therefore argue that as the Eilithyopolite, an administrative area within the Apollonopolite, had its own epistates, the area as a whole, i. e. the Apollonopolite nome, must at this date have been under the control of a strategos<sup>31</sup>.

On general grounds there is something to be said for the view that the raising of controllers of a single nome in the Thebaid to the rank of strategos,

<sup>26</sup> SB 6028; Pelaias occurs several times thereafter; on him see Peremans–Van 't Dack, *Stud. Hell. cit.* (n. 15) 105ff.

<sup>27</sup> It may be that such officials were also upgraded to the highest court rank of συγγενής at precisely the same time.

<sup>28</sup> P. Ross. *Georg. II* 10.

<sup>29</sup> It is in the Apollonopolite in A. D. 113 (O. Edfu 443), cf. Jones, *op. cit.* (App. 2 n. 10), 471 n. 4. In P. Strasb. 116.2 (c. A. D. 18) the editor reads Ἀπαλλωνοπολίτου καὶ Εἰλιθ[υιοπολίτου], but the nome ending is supplied; analogy with P. Oxy. 2472.1, στρατηγῶι Λυκοπολ[ίτου] καὶ Ὑψηλῆς, suggests that we could supply here Εἰλιθ[υιοπολίτου].

<sup>30</sup> It could be analogous to the Latopolite. I do not believe that this was ever administered separately in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, but that it was always attached at first to the Pathyrite and later to the Hermonthite. (In Milne 9246 (Chap. 4 n. 151) the nome governor (title lost) is only τῶν ὁμοτίμων τοῖς συγγενέσι, from which Mooren, *Ancient Society i* (1970) 20 n. 47, rightly deduces that he is in charge of a single nome only at this date; but he is wrong to think that we should therefore read [στρατηγός καὶ νομάρχης τοῦ Παθυρίτου καὶ τοῦ ἐπιτάγματος]. We can follow most scholars (quoted Mooren, *loc. cit.* 18) in supplying τοῦ Λατοπολίτου and still regard the person in question as strategos of what was in administrative practice a single nome. Similarly I should regard the strategos of the Pathyrite and Latopolite in *Inscr. Phil.* 51 (prob. 39) as an example of a strategos in charge of a single nome.)

<sup>31</sup> The lower rank of the epistates is perhaps supported by his Egyptian name. An analogous epistates may be the one found apparently in charge of the Oxyrhynchite in the second century at a time when the Oxyrhynchite perhaps formed part of an Oxyrhynchite-Kynopolite complex, see Appendix 2, p. 129.

and so bringing the Thebaid into line with the rest of Egypt, was a measure taken by Soter II after he had crushed the great revolt in the Thebaid which lasted from 88 to 85. But the evidence does not permit such a definite conclusion and it may be that this reform took place before the revolt. It is noteworthy that the last epistrategos we know of who was not at the same time strategos of the Thebaid belongs in 95/4<sup>32</sup>. It has already been suggested that some time after this a change may have occurred in the administration of the Thebaid whereby the posts of epistrategos and strategos of the Thebaid were combined and the office of epistrategos henceforth limited to the Thebaid<sup>33</sup>. It is tempting to connect this change, if it really took place, with the change in the nomenclature of the controller of a single nome in the Thebaid from epistates to strategos.

<sup>32</sup> SB 7259.

<sup>33</sup> See p. 86.

## Abbreviations

Inscriptions, papyri and periodicals are for the most part cited according to generally accepted conventions (for papyri see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri* (1968), 157–71); those which may cause difficulty are included below. These apart the list gives those works which are cited by author's name or name and short title only.

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| Bengtson               | H. Bengtson, <i>Die Strategie in der hellenistischen Zeit</i> , Bd. III. Münch. Beitr. 36. Neudruck, 1967.                             |
| Bevan                  | E. Bevan, <i>A history of Egypt under the Ptolemaic dynasty</i> . 1927.                                                                |
| BM eg. 10591, etc.     | H. Thompson, <i>A family archive from Siut</i> . 1934.                                                                                 |
| Bouché-Leclercq        | A. Bouché-Leclercq, <i>Histoire des Lagides</i> . Vols. 1–4. 1903–7.                                                                   |
| CE                     | <i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> . Bulletin périodique de la Fondation égyptologique Reine Elisabeth. 1 (1925)ff.                             |
| Collomp, Chancellerie  | P. Collomp, <i>Recherches sur la chancellerie et la diplomatie des Lagides</i> . 1926.                                                 |
| C. Ord. Ptol.          | M. Th. Lenger, <i>Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées</i> . Académie royale de Belgique, mémoires, classe des lettres, lvii, 1. 1964. |
| Fraser, Ptol. Alex.    | P. M. Fraser, <i>Ptolemaic Alexandria</i> . Vols. 1–3. 1972.                                                                           |
| Henne, Stratèges       | H. Henne, <i>Liste des stratèges des nomes égyptiens à l'époque gréco-romaine</i> . MIFAO 56. 1935.                                    |
| Inscr. Délos           | F. Dürrbach, P. Roussel, M. Launey, <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> . 1926ff.                                                             |
| Inscr. Phil.           | A. Bernand, <i>Les Inscriptions grecques de Philae</i> . Vol. 1: Époque ptolémaïque. 1969.                                             |
| Martin                 | V. Martin, <i>Les Épistratèges</i> . 1911.                                                                                             |
| M. Chr.                | L. Mitteis, U. Wilcken, <i>Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde</i> . Vol. 2, Pt. 2. 1912.                                     |
| MDAIK                  | <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo</i> . I (1930)ff.                                              |
| Meyer, Heerwesen       | P. M. Meyer, <i>Das Heerwesen der Ptolemäer und Römer in Ägypten</i> . 1900.                                                           |
| Otto–Bengtson          | W. Otto, H. Bengtson, <i>Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches</i> . Abh. München, N.F. 17. 1938.                       |
| P. IFAO II             | G. Wagner, <i>Papyrus grecs de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale II</i> . Bibliothèque d'étude LV. 1971.                     |
| P. Kroll               | L. Koenen, <i>Eine Ptolemäische Königsurkunde</i> (Klass. Philol. Studien, Heft 19). 1957. [= SB VI 9316]                              |

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| Caesar, <i>Bell. Civ.</i> iii 110.6 ..... | 24 n. 97  |
| Diodorus Siculus xxxi 15 a and 17 b ..... | 20 n. 68  |
| GGM I 122, sect. 22 (Agatharchides) ..... | 125 n. 4  |
| I Macchabees xv 38 .....                  | 81 n. 49  |
| Pausanias I 9.3 .....                     | 23 n. 94  |
| Pliny, <i>NH</i> v 61 .....               | 125 n. 4  |
| Polybius xv 27 .....                      | 94 n. 58  |
| xxx 16 .....                              | 89 n. 21  |
| Strabo i 2.23 (p. 30) .....               | 127 n. 14 |
| xiv 2.25 (p. 660) .....                   | 94 n. 60  |
| xvii 1.4 (p. 788) .....                   | 127 n. 14 |
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